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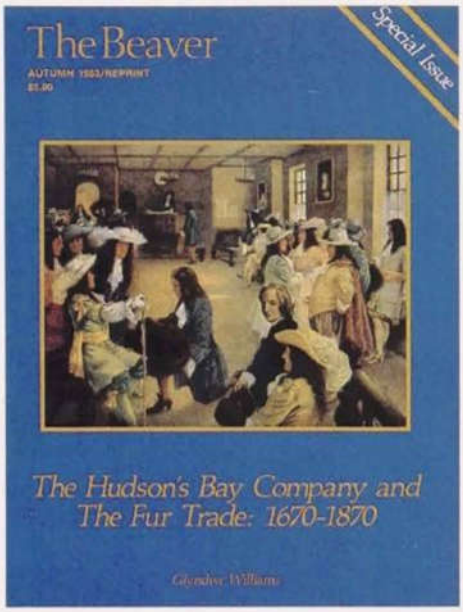

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By GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

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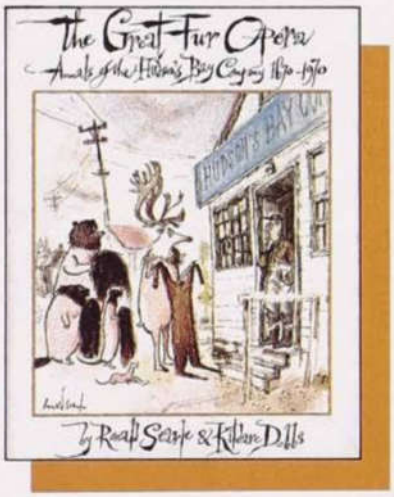

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Theodore de Bry's map of 1596. (National Archives of Canada)

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The Beaver

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New France, New England And The 'Glorious Revolution'

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The Fall of Catholic James II Brought War to Canada's East Coast

The years 1988-89 mark the tercentenary of the overthrow of King James II of England (VII of Scotland) in what was once known to historians as "the Glorious Revolution". The English Revolution of 1688-89 is being commemorated on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States, a variety of scholarly conferences and museum exhibits have been planned for the anniversary years of a revolution which spawned smaller upheavals in such colonies as Massachusetts and New York. In the United Kingdom, the celebrations have been more public and more controversial. While some commentators have lauded the revolution as a non-violent transition of power from the despotic Stuarts to the benign rule of William and Mary, and as a vindication of the rights of freeborn Englishmen to boot, others have pointed out that this interpretation owes a great deal to the biased writings of such "whig" historians as Thomas Babington Macaulay. Non-violent as the revolution largely was in England, the critics argue, it brought carnage in Ireland and Scotland; and while it may have safeguarded the rights of English*men* of the right social class and religion, it did not do much for those of women, the poor, or of Roman Catholics

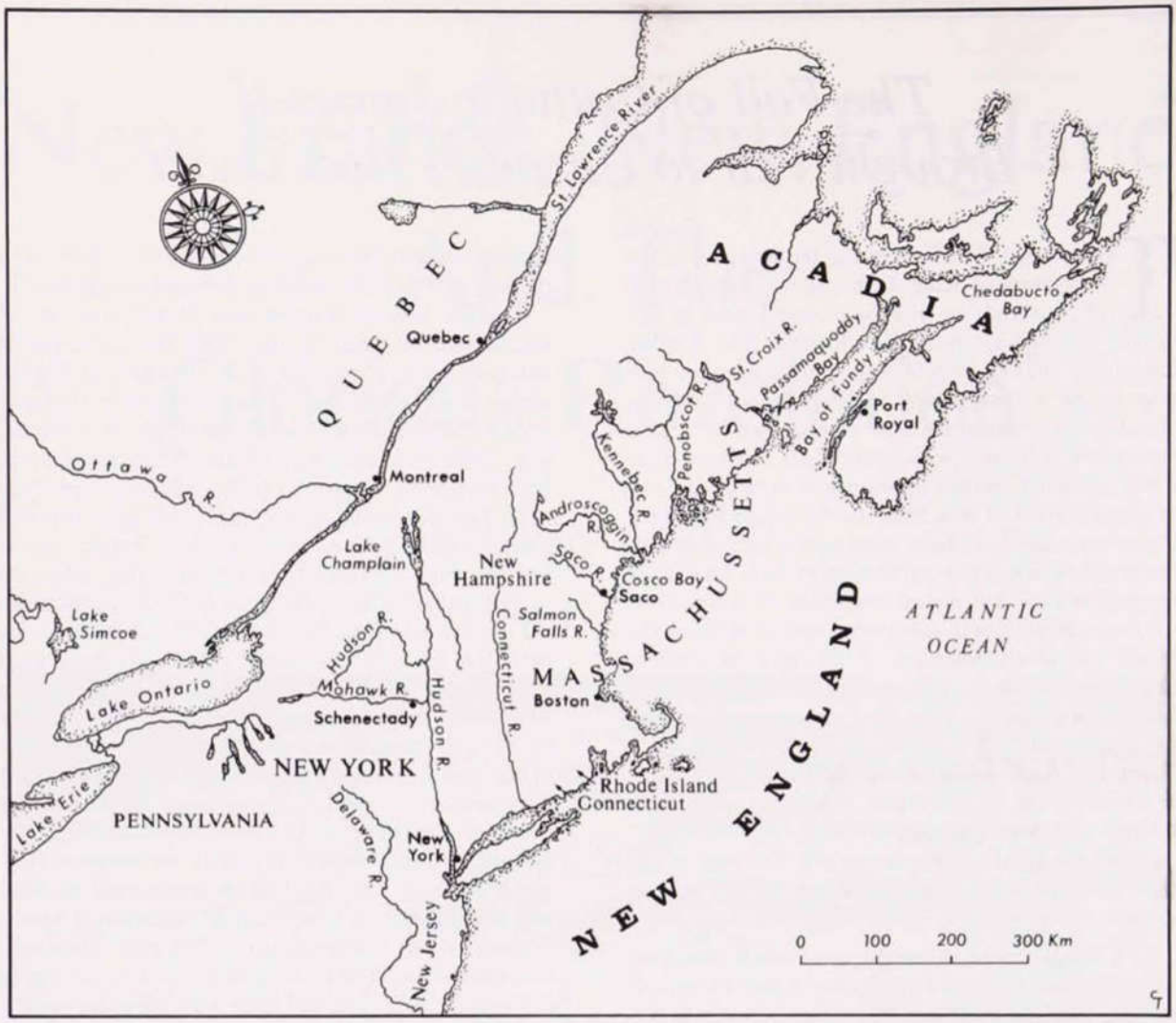
In Canada, meanwhile, the anniversary has gone virtually unnoticed. To a point, this is understandable enough. England's association in 1688-89 with the territory now known as Canada was minimal, especially since the successful French seizure of the Hudson's Bay Company's three major trading posts in 1686. Nevertheless, the influence of the Revolution of 1688-89 on Canadian history was profound, if indirect. In Acadia — France's colony in what today comprises the Maritime region of Canada and the northeastern corner of the State of Maine — the revolution unleashed violent forces that destroyed an uneasy peace that had existed for a generation. By unsettling a precarious balance between French and English in North America, it undermined an informal *modus vivendi* that had enabled the Acadian population to co-exist with its New England neighbours. Although the co-existence did not immediately disappear, imperial conflicts would now intrude as never before. In a real sense, the revolution of 1688-89 marked for the Acadians the end of the turbulent but creative seventeenth century and the beginning of the violently destructive eighteenth.

Conflict between English and French was not, of course, new to Acadia in the 1680s, but in the past it had been small in scale. Even the sixteen-year English occupation of the colony which had begun in 1654 had involved little bloodshed and surprisingly little disruption of the Acadians' way of life. When Acadia had been returned to France in 1670 trade with New England had continued despite the strongly-expressed disapproval of government officials in France and in Quebec. New England fishing vessels also continued to frequent Acadian waters, and in the mid-1680s this led to a serious crisis. In 1682, the French government permitted a company headed by the La Rochelle merchant Clerbaud Bergier to begin a major fishing enterprise from a base on Chedabucto Bay. Bergier immediately perceived a threat from the competition of the New Englanders, and in 1684 he was authorized by France to take action against them. In the ensuing series of ship seizures, the New Englanders quickly took the upper hand, and it was at the behest of Bergier's company that the French government in 1687 sent a new governor to Acadia in the person of Louis-Alexandre Des Friches, Sieur de Meneval. Meneval's instructions included a mandate to use a naval frigate to bring the New England trade and fishery to an end.

By this time, England too had initiated new arrangements for the government of its northeastern colonies. Following years of disputes over the autonomous tendencies of the colony of Massachusetts, the English government acted in 1684 to destroy the Massachusetts charter. In the following year, Massachusetts and some neighbouring territories were integrated into a new "Dominion of New England". By 1688, the Dominion had been expanded to include all of New England as well as New York and New Jersey. Since the end of 1686 it had been under the command of Sir Edmund Andros, a British military officer and former governor of New York. Andros quickly adopted an aggressive attitude towards the neighbouring French. In the summer of 1688 he declared unequivocally that the boundary between the two nationalities "hath always been and Deemed and knowne to be the River St. Croix and a right Lyne from the head of that River to the River Canada".

This pronouncement went directly against French claims that the colony of Acadia extended south-west-

William of Orange lands in England, 1688, with the fleet in attendance.



wards at least to the Penobscot River. "The French", commented another British official in the same summer of 1688, "stand mightily upon Penobscott's being in their precincts". One individual who could put up powerful opposition to the English in that area was the Baron de Saint-Castin, a former French military officer who had settled near the mouth of the Penobscot and had married into the Penobscot branch of the Abenaki Indian people. Saint-Castin lived in close contact both with his native kin and with the Acadian colonial authorities at Port Royal. In 1688, in Saint-Castin's absence, his house was raided by Andros and most of his household goods seized. They would be restored, Andros promised, only if Saint-Castin declared his allegiance to England rather than to France. Since Saint-Castin had no intention of doing that, and also in view of the potential military power of his native allies at a time when persistent tensions existed between the English and the more south-westerly branches of the Abenaki, the dispute over the Penobscot region was potentially explosive.

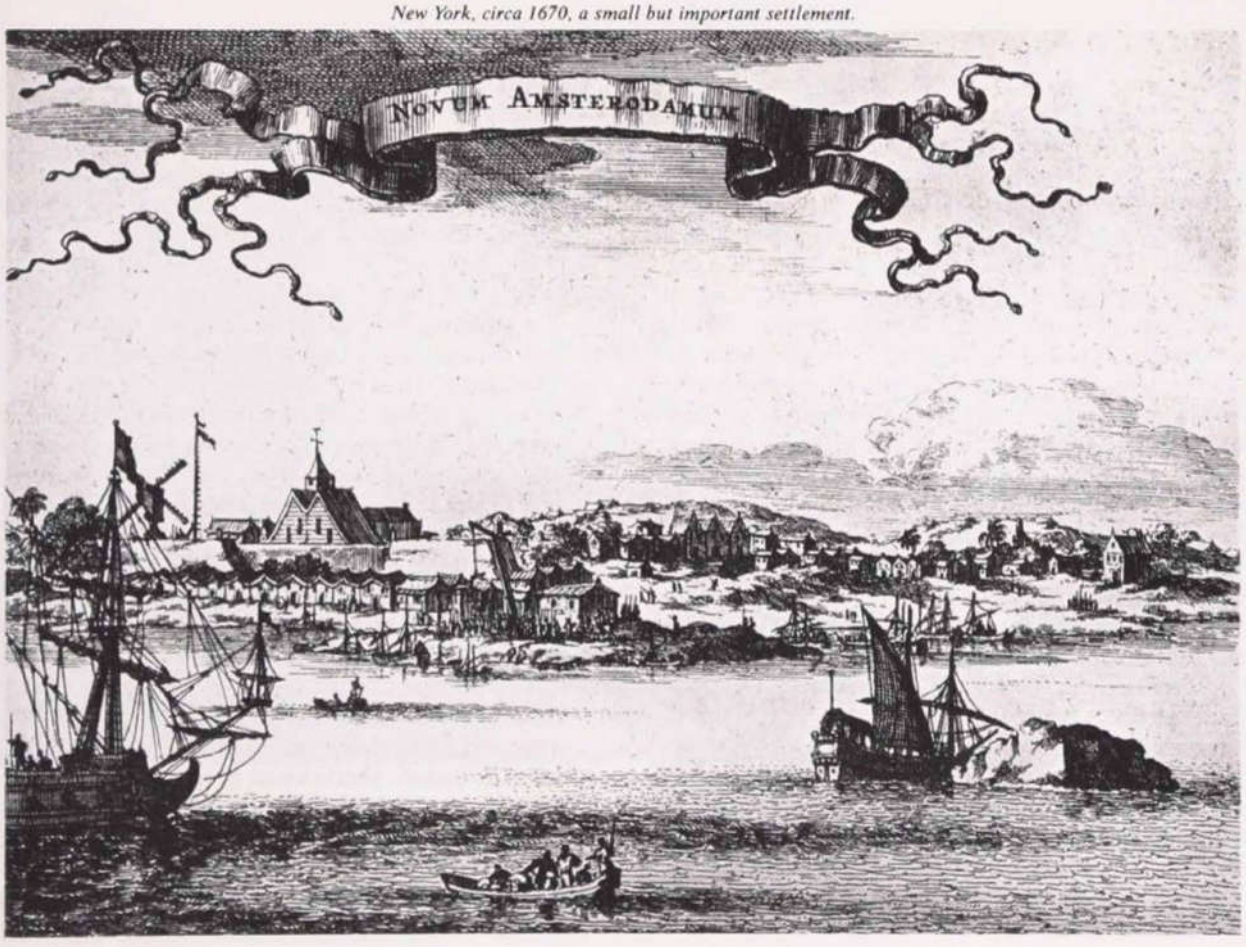
Nevertheless, the undoubted dangers and tensions caused by the international rivalries of the late 1680s were still capable of being kept within manageable bounds. There were two safeguards: one was local, and one international in scope. The local factor was the disinclination of many of those who actually lived in Acadia, and in the northeasternmost areas of New England, to be drawn into outright warfare. The Acadians, with their unique history of living under English authority from 1654 to 1670 and with their close trading contacts with New England, had long developed an ability to co-exist with both native and English neighbours. The Abenaki, as the historian Kenneth M. Morrison has recently established, consistently showed restraint in the face of the suspicion and the fear-

inspired aggression of English settlers. Even though conflicts flared into violence on the Saco and Androscoggin rivers in the summer and fall of 1688, and led by October to outright warfare, attempts to find a negotiated solution continued. Andros, always sceptical of the New England settlers' proclivity to become embroiled with native people and accordingly regarded by many New Englanders as unduly pro-Indian, took part in the negotiations even while continuing with military measures. The scope of the conflict was thus contained.

On a wider international scale, the Treaty of Whitehall — signed by France and England in 1686 — also had a restraining effect. The two countries were traditional enemies in European international politics, all the more so since the religious Reformation of the sixteenth century. Although each country had suffered from deep internal divisions on the religious question, France had emerged predominantly Roman Catholic — aggressively so during the reign of King Louis XIV, as the expulsion of the Huguenots demonstrated in 1685 — while England was officially Protestant. During the reign of Charles II, however, English policy towards France had shifted. The secret treaty of Dover, in 1670, committed England to join with France in making war on their common commercial foe, the Netherlands. Even more remarkably, Charles II committed himself to converting at some unspecified future time to Catholicism. Whether he ever did so — perhaps on his deathbed — is a matter for speculation, but the question became inconsequential when he was succeeded in 1685 by his openly Catholic and pro-French brother, James II. The Treaty of Whitehall, sometimes known as the Treaty of Neutrality, dealt with a range of matters affecting the mutual security of England and France, and contained important provisions relating to North America. Each country, the treaty provided, would respect the colonies of the other by avoiding illegal trade or fishing, and even in the event of a European war the colonies would maintain peaceful relations — a state of neutrality — with each other.

The Treaty of Whitehall, like so many seventeenth-century European treaties that related to North America, was full of ambiguities. It was unlikely to have much lasting effect on the persistent quarrels over New

New York, circa 1670, a small but important settlement.



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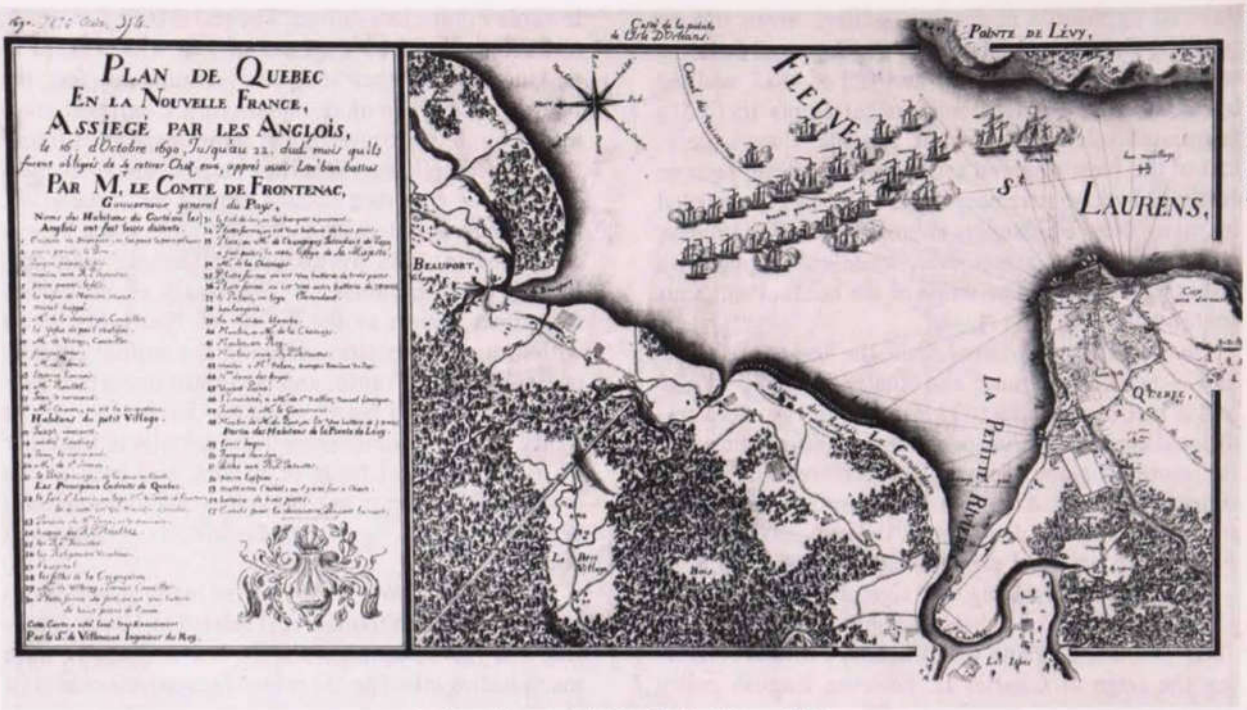


National Archives of Canada

Quebec under attack by New England forces, 1690.

England's use of fishing grounds off the coast of Acadia, and it would certainly do nothing to resolve the dispute over the status of the Penobscot region. Nevertheless, in the context of the *rapprochement* between England and France — with all the changes in the balance of international politics that that might imply — it was possible that the treaty might prove to be a harbinger of easier co-existence between the countries' colonial populations in North America. That remained to be seen, of course, for there were many suspicions and outright conflicts of interest to be put to rest. In the meantime, the treaty did provide an incentive for local conflicts to be resolved without leading to wider hostilities. For the 1,000 or so Acadians — approximately half of them at Port Royal, another quarter divided between the branch settlements at Minas and Beaubassin, and the remainder elsewhere in the colony — the treaty, and Meneval's efforts to enforce its terms on the question of illegal trading, brought some annoyances. Meneval reported to France in September 1688 that the inhabitants of Port Royal were "somewhat displeased" when he turned back some small New England trading vessels. But the trading relationship was hardy enough that it was not likely to be seriously endangered, and in any case France itself was at last making some effort to fulfill Acadian economic needs by sending merchant vessels to Port Royal. For the time being, peace and modest prosperity could prevail.

The English Revolution changed all that. By moving quickly towards establishing civil rights in England for all dissenters from the established church — a measure directed especially at Catholics, though extended also to Protestant dissenters — and by using his personal authority to override existing legislation by appointing Catholic officers to the army and navy, James II soon began to erode the traditional pillars of support for the Stuart monarchy: notably the Church of England, and the Tory majority in the House of Commons. By late June 1688 this process was virtually complete, as seven bishops stood accused of seditious libel for their efforts to forestall the king's efforts to introduce liberty of conscience. They were acquitted on 30 June, amid popular anti-Catholic demonstrations in the streets of London. Not quite three weeks earlier, the queen, Mary of Modena, had borne her first son. The birth of the young prince raised the possibility of a Catholic successor to James; up until then, the succession would have gone to his devoutly Protestant daughter Mary, the wife of Prince William of Orange. On the same day as the acquittal of the bishops, a group of seven influential political leaders wrote to William to invite him to intervene. "Nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom . . . are desirous of a change . . .", they declared, because of James's invasions of "religion, liberties and properties".

William, as captain-general of the Dutch republic, had good reason to be apprehensive of his father-in-law's affinity with France, and soon decided to accept the English invitation. His invasion fleet reached the

"The Protestant Succession", an elaborate tribute to William and Mary by Sir James Thornhill, from the ceiling of the Painted Hall at the Greenwich Naval Hospital.

William III at the Battle of the Boyne, from the painting by J. van Wyck.

west of England in early November, and met no resistance. A related rebellion in the midlands broke out shortly thereafter. Even the army was divided, and James clearly lacked enough support to survive. In December, he decided to flee to France, and did so by the end of the month with the co-operation of William. A Convention Parliament met in January, and on 13 February William and Mary were offered the crown of England as joint monarchs. Three months later a similar invitation arrived from Scotland, although in that country Jacobitism would long remain a potent political and military force. James himself, whose attempt at a counter-invasion through Ireland would reach a disastrous end at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690, went into permanent French exile.

News of the revolution came to North America sporadically. Sir Edmund Andros heard of James II's flight in March 1689, when he was on the coast of northern New England, at Pemaquid, attempting to secure peace with the Abenaki. Andros immediately returned to Boston, where on 18 April he was besieged by an angry crowd and eventually imprisoned. In the absence of any firm news from England on the events of early 1689, control of Massachusetts passed to a Council of Safety which represented various factions opposed to the rule of Andros. Some represented the older Puritan elite which had ruled before the establishment of the Dominion of New England, while others more pragmatically saw a chance to gain political influence by taking advantage of the revolution. What soon became evident was the disintegration of the Dominion, as colony after colony resumed its own local government. In New York, officials of the Dominion managed to cling to a semblance of power until early June, when Jacob Leisler — a merchant of German origin and a militia captain — took control. His leadership was confirmed by a Committee of Safety and by mid-month Andros' lieutenant-governor for New York had taken ship for England.

A great deal of confusion remained. One question was what the reaction of the new English government would be to the developments in North America, and

the answer would take some time to come. Ultimately, the new regime in Massachusetts, helped by effective lobbying in London by its agent, Increase Mather, would be vindicated. Jacob Leisler was not so fortunate: deposed by a new royal governor in March 1691, he was hanged for treason a few weeks later. Already by the summer of 1689, however, certain matters had become clear. First, the regimes in Boston and New York — as in other colonies — were fiercely anti-Catholic and saw the new monarchs as champions of Protestantism. Secondly, the pro-French attitudes of the later Stuart monarchs, and with them all the restraints which had been imposed by the Treaty of Whitehall, were swept away. One of William's chief aims had been to detach England from France and enlist it as an ally of the Dutch. Even while James II was still on English soil, William ordered his chief admiral to use the English flag when attacking French vessels, rather than the Dutch. When the Netherlands declared war on France in February 1689, the English declaration soon followed in May.

In North America, the war was quick to begin. The "neutrality" clauses of the Treaty of Whitehall proved, not surprisingly now that the revolution had taken place, to be worthless. When news of the declaration of war reached New York, it was speedily conveyed to the Five Nations of the Iroquois, longtime enemies of the French in the colony of Canada, in the St. Lawrence Valley. At the time, the Five Nations had been considering a peace treaty with the French, but the prospect of an English alliance changed their strategy. In August 1689 they launched a devastating attack on the Canadian settlement of Lachine, near Montreal, and further attacks followed. In the same month, on the coast of northern New England, Andros' former stronghold at Pemaquid was overrun by Abenaki forces, and English settlements were raided further south. For the English, worse was to come in the early months of 1690. Partly as a response to the Lachine raid, and following the ignominious collapse of a plan to attack New York by land and sea, Canadian and allied native forces launched successive attacks on Schenectady, New York, on Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, and on Casco, Maine. All of them caused substantial loss of life among the colonists, as well as injury or capture for many of the survivors.

It was in this context that the war turned directly towards Acadia. It did so in two ways: through attacks on Port Royal by English colonial forces, and by the establishment in Acadia of a new and powerful French military headquarters. The first of the English raids had its origins in Massachusetts. Fishing interests — still resentful of Meneval's efforts since 1687 to exclude them from the shores of Acadia — combined with other New Englanders who believed that the presence of Saint-Castin on the Penobscot was proof of French incitement of Abenaki hostility towards the English, to urge an assault on Port Royal. Yet, so chronically divided into factions was the regime in Boston that nothing might have happened had it not been for the arrival of news of the Schenectady raid. Still there was indecision, and quarrelling as to who was to lead the proposed expedition, but in late March of 1690, a few days after the arrival of the news from Salmon Falls, the command was awarded to Sir William Phips.

Phips, as a military commander, was an unknown quantity. Originally from a small English community on the Kennebec River, he had married well in Boston, become a ship's captain, and in 1687 had made his fortune and gained a knighthood by finding a sunken Spanish treasure-ship in the Caribbean. His most recent recommendation for his new command was what one biographer has described as "a politic religious conversion", which earlier in 1690 had enhanced his reputation with the Puritan elite. The expedition sailed in late April with, according to Phips' journal, a total of 736 men on board seven vessels: 446 troops, 286 "belonging to the fleet", and four non-combatants including a chaplain. Skirmishes at Penobscot, Machias, and Passamaquoddy Bay were preliminaries to the main descent on Port Royal. When the fleet arrived there on 9 May the events that followed were dramatic in their own way, but involved no military combat. Meneval's small garrison had already been weakened by internal disputes, and the discouraged governor was soon brought to terms. On 11 May Port Royal surrendered, on agreed conditions that included the safety of the church and of the possessions of the Acadian inhabitants.

Just how seriously these terms were taken by the captors was shown the next day when, as Phips cheerfully noted in his journal, "we cut down the doors, rifled the Church, [and] Pull'd down the High-Altar, breaking their Images". A day and a half of plundering followed during which, as a group of French observers recorded, Phips allowed "the pillage of the greater part of the inhabitants, whose personal effects and livestock were taken". In the ensuing days, Phips administered an oath of allegiance to the English crown to a number of Acadians, and set up a small council of Acadian residents that would supposedly govern in the English interest. With that, and ordering two of his subordinates to visit other parts of Acadia to take oaths of allegiance — and to "burn, kill, and destroy" those who refused — Phips and the main part of the fleet sailed for Boston to enjoy the spoils of their success. The unfortunate Meneval accompanied them as a prisoner.

The second raid on Port Royal came hard on the heels of Phips' departure, in the month of June. It was

HBC Archives

James II as Duke of York, by Jacob Huysmans.

carried out by warships from Leisler's New York, and was even more destructive than Phips' assault had been. Documentation of this episode is much sparser than that of the Phips expedition, and the impression of some French observers was that it was a random attack by pirates. The true identity of the attackers is established by a letter written in January 1691 by James Lloyd, a Boston merchant. "After Sir William's Returne," wrote Lloyd, "Leisler's man of Warr made desolation there". The severity of the attack is confirmed, and the involvement of two warships established, by another account written by Joseph Robinau de Villebon. Villebon, one of Meneval's lieutenants who arrived back from a sojourn in France just after the Phips raid and thereupon moved the French military headquarters across the Bay of Fundy to the St. John Valley, encountered the New York vessels at the mouth of the St. John and pieced together what had already taken place. "They had come from Port Royal", he reported to France, "where they had burned all the houses between the mouth of the river and the fort, not having spared even the church; they had killed a number of cattle, hanged two inhabitants, burning, with his house, the wife and children of one of them".

There was little that Villebon could do, and he himself lost two ketches to the raiders, captured on the lower reaches of the St. John. Yet Villebon's arrival signalled a new departure in the military history of Acadia. The French, whose earlier estimates of the military power of the Abenaki had been tainted by condescension, began in the late 1680s to realize their mistake. The taking of Pemaquid in 1689 had been one strong indication and Abenaki participation in the frontier raids of early 1690 had given another. Villebon arrived back in Acadia fully aware of the strategic advantages of alliance with native people. His choice of a headquarters in the St. John Valley was partly determined by the insecurity of Port Royal, but was also a move to a location that was convenient for liaison with native forces. It was his intention, he wrote, "to build a good palisaded fort and give the Indians all the assistance in my power so that they might continue their war against the English". France — even represented by so astute a commander as Villebon proved to be — could never hope to exercise control over the Abenaki, or over any others of the native peoples of the region for that matter. Native people had no reason to be subservient, and the Abenaki quarrel with the English would continue to be pursued independently from that of the French. Nevertheless, there was an obvious convergence of interest, and from 1690 until the signing of a short-lived peace treaty between England and France in 1697 Villebon would co-ordinate a sporadic but highly effective guerrilla war against New England.

The outbreak of general warfare that had been triggered by the English Revolution of 1688-89 had thus thoroughly embroiled the colony of Acadia by the summer of 1690. It was true there remained some room for doubt as to just how far-reaching, or how radically new, the consequences would be. The year 1690, after all, was not the first in which Port Royal had fallen to English attack. As early as in 1613, a Virginian force had burned what was then a tiny settlement. In 1654, the naval force of Robert Sedgwick had reduced Port Royal and the other Acadian centres of the time, in the assault that had led to sixteen years of English rule. Loose as that occupation had been, it had been more convincing than the token structure of government left by Phips. As in the earlier period, the Acadians continued during the 1690s to live as far as they could a life untouched by the violence that at times swirled around them. The President of Phips' council was Charles La Tourasse, a sergeant in the former French garrison who promptly made his report to Villebon and was authorized to continue in office and ostensibly in English employ. Similarly, Villebon made no attempt to halt the trade with New England on which he knew the Acadian economy depended. On the face of it, this might well have seemed to be just another temporary phase of English pressure on Acadia, despite which life could go on much as before.

The reality was, however, that a permanent change had taken place. The warfare that in 1689-90 engulfed

northeastern North America from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic coast would last, with some interludes, for a full generation. Not until 1713 would something like a settlement be reached, and even then it was riddled with flaws and kept an imperfect peace for only thirty or so years. Between 1689 and 1713 — although large, European-style armies did not take the field in North America — the fighting was often bloody and destructive. The hostility already felt in New England and New York towards the Catholic French and their native allies was greatly intensified by the raids on Schenectady and the other English frontier settlements in early 1690, and it was visited on the Acadians in the two spring raids on Port Royal. One of the two commanders sent by Phips to complete the attack on Acadia, Cyprian Southack, reduced the fishing company's base at Chedabucto after a pitched battle, and then went on to raid French settlements in Newfoundland. Safe in St. John's harbour in June, he boasted in a letter to his parents that "I have cleered all the French from Nova Scotia and some parts of Newfoundland". Southack exaggerated, of course. But the strident tone of the pronouncement was all too true an indicator of the sustained, though as yet intermittent, violence that would characterize New England descents on Acadian communities throughout the war years, and ultimately the decisive military conquest of Acadia by Great Britain in 1710. These assaults, and the use of Acadia as a base for attack on New England by French and allied native forces, gave clear evidence that the colony was now caught in the midst of a conflict between empires that had gone far beyond the older pattern of haphazard local disputes.

The English Revolution had not created these large conflicting forces. What it *had* done was to unleash them, by destroying an earlier framework which had shown some ability for containment. The results were felt more acutely in Acadia than in the more populous settlements of the St. Lawrence Valley. An attempt by Phips to storm Quebec later in 1690 failed abjectly. Thereafter the war, while costly, went if anything in favour of the French on the inland fronts. By 1701, even the Five Nations agreed to remain neutral, and this led — when war was resumed between France and England in the following year — to a noticeable quietening of conflict on the Canada-New York frontier, as both French and English adopted a defensive policy of wary non-aggression. In Acadia, however, the war continued until it ended in French defeat in 1710, and the transferral of most of Acadia to British rule in the Treaty of Utrecht three years later. The sequence of events had been set in motion by the revolution of 1688-89, as Meneval dispiritedly reported to the French government in 1691. The New Englanders had mounted their attack in 1690, he explained, "after the usurpation of England by the Prince of Orange, and having

By courtesy of The National Portrait Gallery

William III, oil on canvas, attributed to Thomas Murray.

embraced his party and driven out the governor of their true king". There was nothing very glorious about the revolution as it affected Acadia. As in some parts of the British Isles, its main results were death and destruction. It did, however, give the impetus for a major turning-point in Canadian history. Its anniversary deserves to be remembered if not celebrated, and its significance marked even at a remove of three hundred years. ♦

John G. Reid teaches history at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. He is the author of "Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes", published by Nimbus, Halifax 1987.

Canada's Western Prairies are a vast and gently undulating grassland of some 750,000 square miles, an area that would easily encompass most of Western Europe. They occupy the heart of the North American continent, stretching roughly 800 miles across much of present-day southern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.

Although one might expect that their open landscape and uniform topography would have facilitated early exploration and mapping, in reality the Canadian Prairies remained largely unknown until the mid-nineteenth century. The mountain ranges to the west, the shield and muskeg country to the east, and the difficult climate to the north combined to isolate the Prairies from the rest of the country.

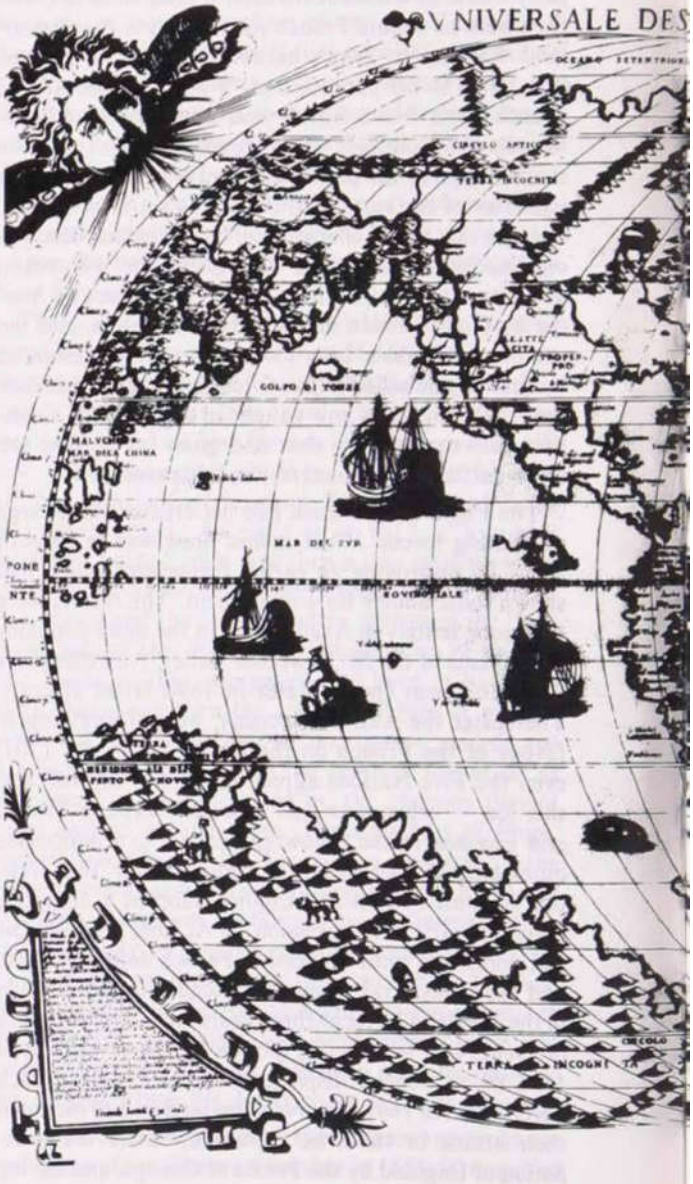
Probably more than any single phenomenon, it was the nature of the landscape itself which initially curtailed Euro-Canadian interest in the region. Because the "featureless" Prairies were devoid of the familiar, visual symbols that lured pioneers to other parts of North America, the first Euro-Canadian intruders to the area saw nothing more than a grass wasteland.

It was not until Eastern Canada recognized the commercial implications of promoting this treeless plain as an agricultural frontier that attitudes towards the Prairies changed. Once the agricultural potential of the region was established, the Canadian government embarked on one of the largest mapping programs the world had ever witnessed. Because of this effort, the western Prairies were unique in the extent to which they were surveyed and mapped long before the introduction of intensive homesteading at the turn of the century.

The mapping of the Canadian Prairies was marked by three major phases: the first was largely speculative and produced some highly imaginative cartography; the second was a transitional period and introduced the first major scientific explorations; the third saw Euro-Canadian intruders initiate a systematic description of the land as part of their attempt to assume control over the region. Each of these phases not only developed from different circumstances but also generated distinctive cartographic products. An examination of these records provides an interesting glimpse into our understanding of the Prairies and their geography. To the extent that they are artifacts of their time and place, the maps of Canada's Prairies also offer a unique perspective on how their authors perceived the region, and how their perceptions affected further exploration.

As elsewhere, the foundation to the first surveys of the Prairies was established by early European explorers. The prevailing thrust behind their quest for knowledge on the region was, at first, part of the larger search for a route which would lead them across, through, or around the North American land mass and on to the riches of the Orient. Consequently, the earliest maps of the Canadian interior were really nothing more than personal theories on how this new land mass might be circumvented.

Initially, it was thought that the Western land mass would prove to be an extension of the Asian continent. For example, the map published by Giacomo Gastaldi



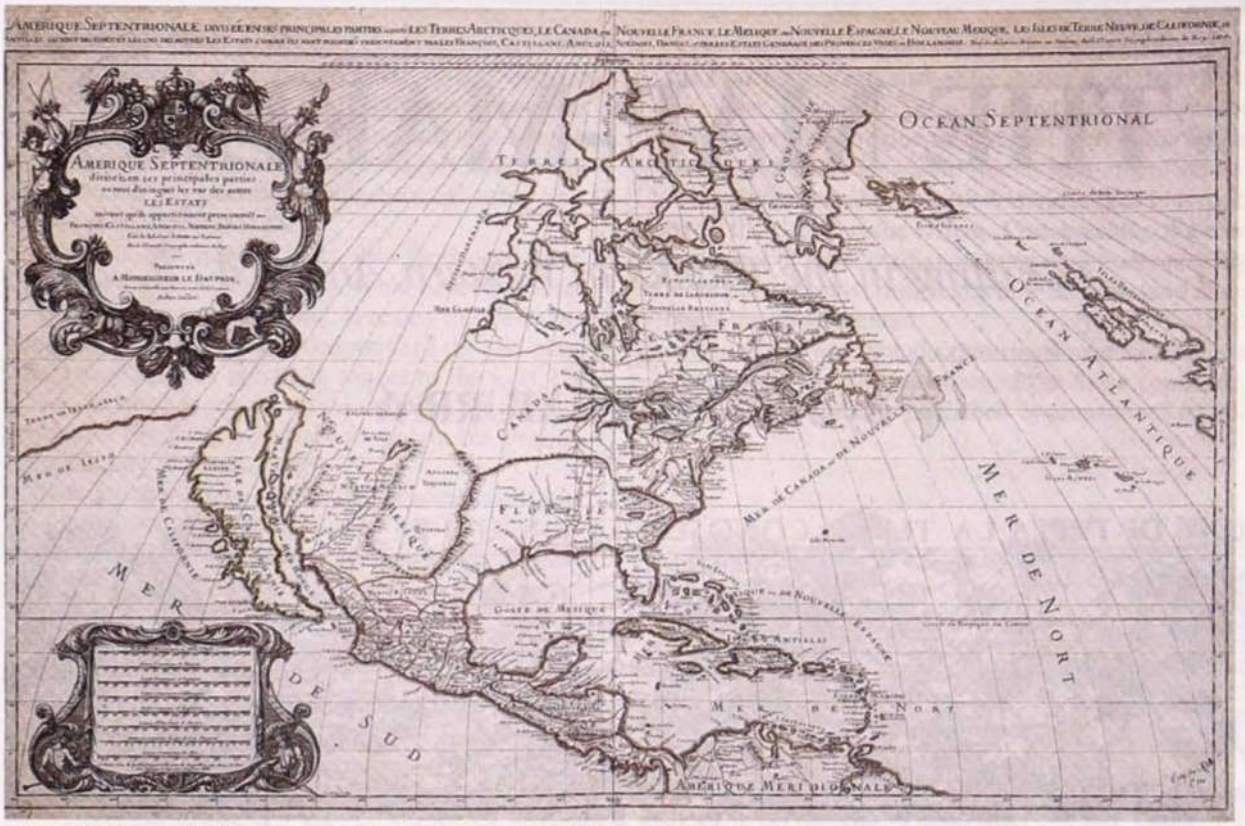
In 1565 the Venetian cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi envisioned North America as a peninsula of Asia, with mountain chains linking the old and the new worlds.

THE MAP-MAKERS

Filling in the Blanks in Western America

By JEFFREY S. MURRAY

National Archives of Canada NMC-13294



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Cartographer Hubert Jaillot made North America a part of Asia in his map of 1690, but he was careful to leave the connection vague.

French cartographer Nicolas de Fer's map of 1698 was also vague about the link between America and Asia.

National Archives of Canada C122931

National Archives of Canada NMC 24804

This edition of Johann Baptist Homann's map of the western hemisphere was published in 1729.

Jacques-Nicolas Bellin's 1743 map of North America placed Lake of the Woods and its drainage system in the heart of the Canadian prairies.

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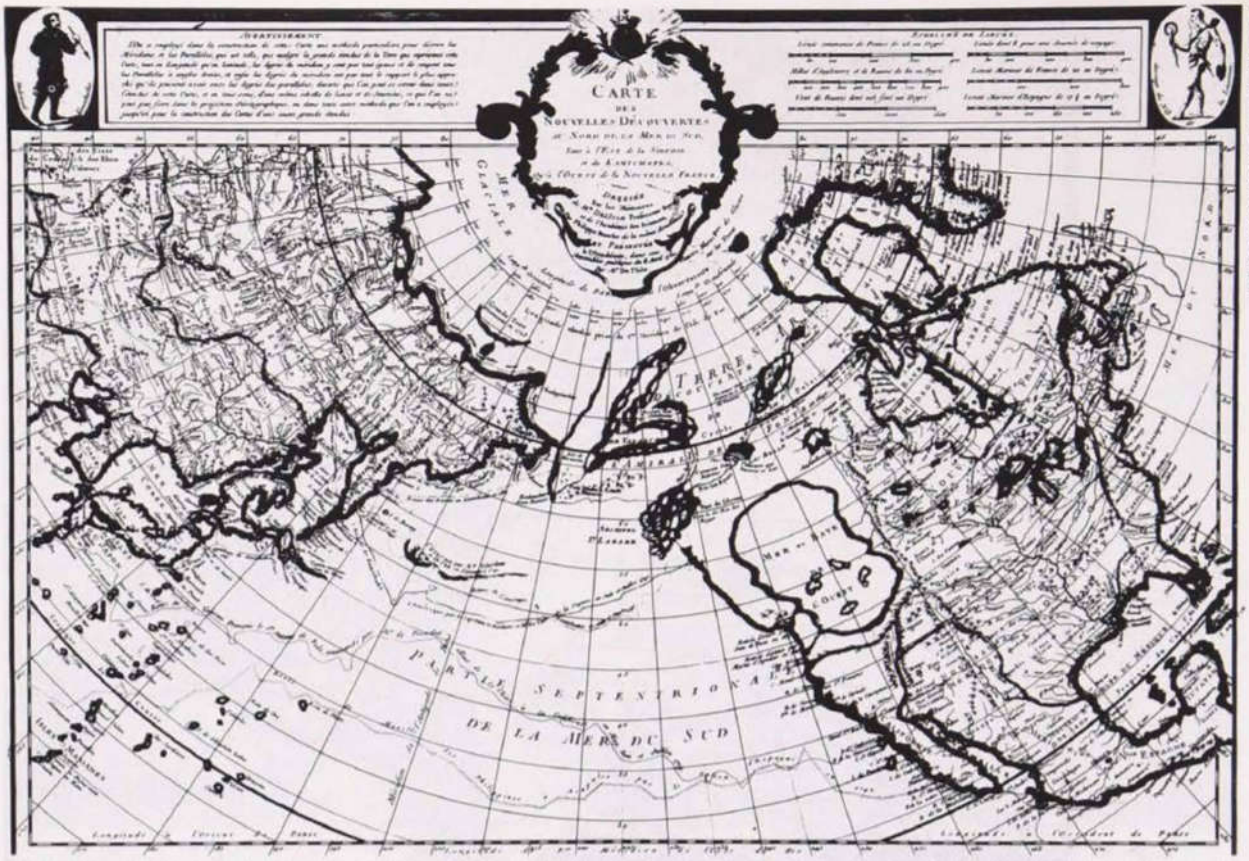


National Archives of Canada NMC 21056

Joseph Delisle's map of 1752 introduced new information from Russian expeditions to the North Pacific as well as the imaginary waterway "Mer ou Baye de l'Ouest".

just 70 years after Columbus' discovery of the Americas, envisioned the new lands as an extensive peninsula of the old world. It was anticipated that North America and Asia would be linked through mountain chains, river systems and an open passage along their northern shores.

Even as late as 1690, the famous French cartographer Hubert Jaillot still believed the western interior would prove nothing more than a narrow belt which would be somehow closely situated to the Asian continent. Although his map left the Canadian interior a blank space, and thereby avoided speculation on the nature of the region, it featured a section of the Asian coastline projecting near northern California, which was incorrectly depicted as an island.

Still other cartographers reflected Europe's optimism for easy access to the Orient by extending large, navigable waterways across the continental interior. Explorers were beginning to discover Western rivers and lakes for themselves, or were learning of their existence from native informants. In either case, the cartographers of Europe naturally assumed that, with each new discovery, these systems would provide the long sought Northwest Passage. For example, Nicolas de Fer's map of 1698 greatly exaggerated reports on the size of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, and extended this interconnecting system well into the middle of the continent. Although Jacques-Nicolas Bellin's map half a century later corrected De Fer's misplacement, Bellin still reflected Europe's enthusiasm for an interior passage to Asia by pushing the westward extension of Lake of the Woods to the western perimeter of the continent so that it completely truncated the Prairies.

Probably the most speculative waterway imagined by eighteenth-century cartography, however, was the mythical "Mer ou Baye de l'Ouest" introduced by Joseph Delisle in 1752. Taking much of his information from the fictitious discoveries of De Fonte, Delisle's inland sea occupied a large portion of the Prairies and was thought to be open to the Pacific Ocean through the Juan de Fuca Strait. Despite his obvious misplaced enthusiasm for the western interior, Delisle's map was still a cartographic milestone in that it was one of the first to show Asia and North America in their proper relationship.

As the founder of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Delisle no doubt used information obtained from Russian explorations along the Alaska coast. His research confirmed for other European car-

tographers that the Americas were indeed much further from the Orient than had been previously realized. Despite this gain, it is interesting that Delisle still chose to follow the precedent established by earlier colleagues by openly contemplating a quick route through the North American interior.

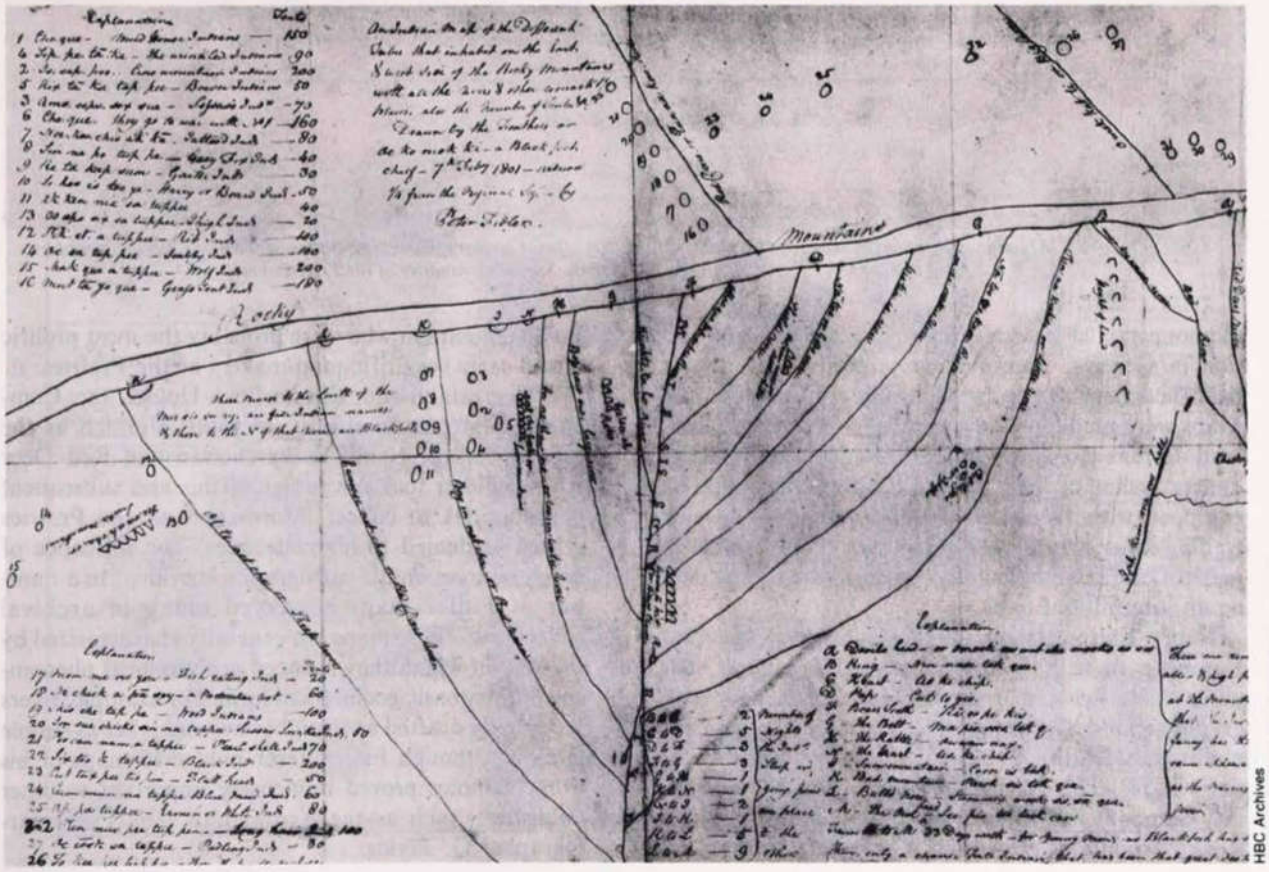
The possibility of such large, navigable inland waters was not completely dismissed until 1793 when Alexander Mackenzie completed his overland journey to the Pacific Ocean. Mackenzie's voyage demonstrated that no easy passage was possible through the Western interior, thereby enabling later map-makers to concentrate their skills on the geography of reality rather than a mapping of hope and expectation.

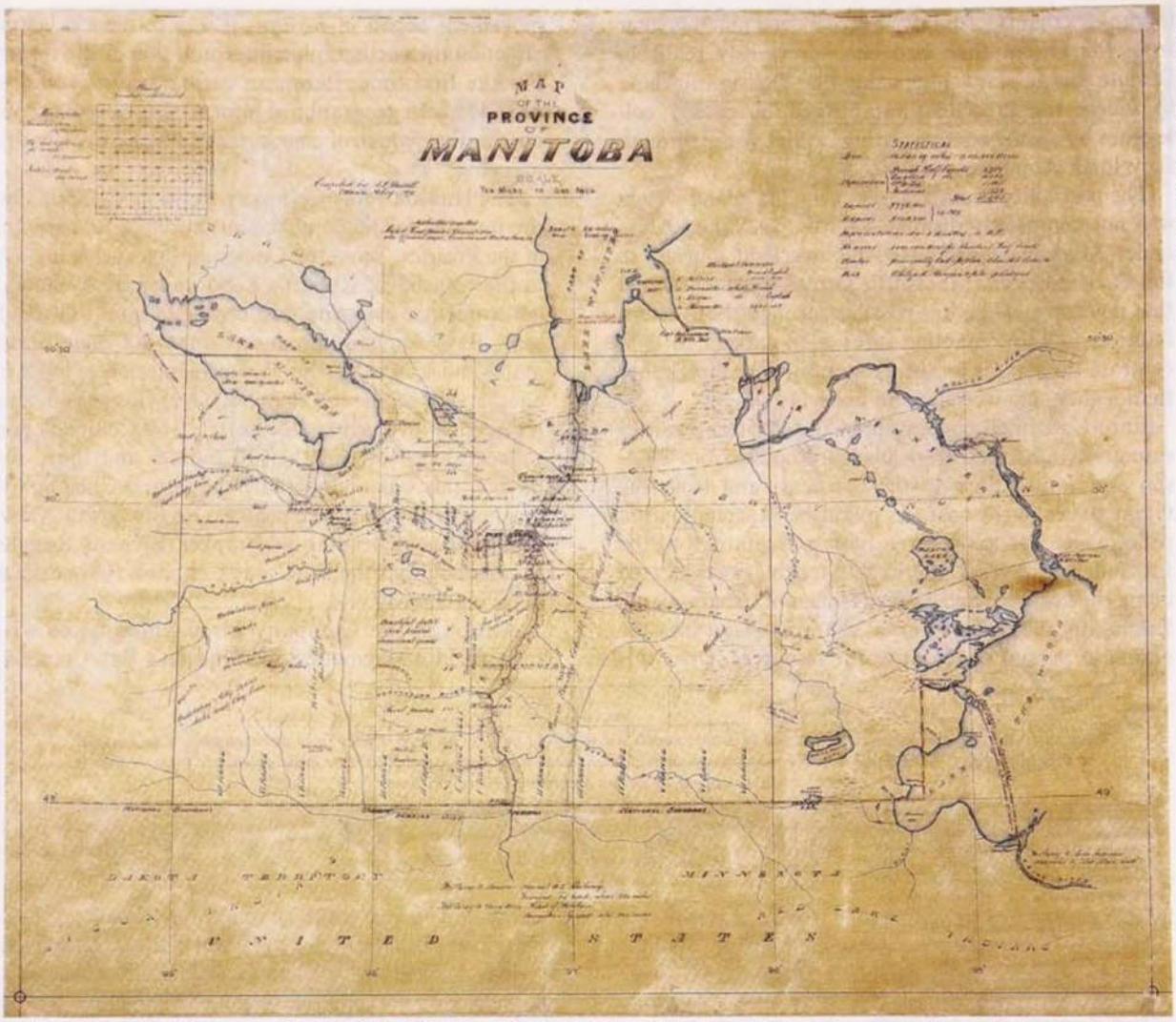
Euro-Canadian exploration of the Western Prairies essentially advanced from two thresholds, from Hudson and James Bays to the northeast and from the Great Lakes to the east. As might be expected, initial penetration was undertaken by representatives of the fur trade and was peripheral with trading posts located along the northern and eastern fringes of the grassland. Eventually the traders moved south and west into the region in pursuit of lucrative fur resources. Once this movement began in earnest, it was to have a lasting effect on the cartographic interpretation of the region. For the first time, European cartographers would be provided with geographical information through direct observation, which of course, is the essence of scientific mapping.

The Hudson's Bay Company, in particular, provided the impetus for much of the initial scientific mapping of the Prairies. From the Company's inception in 1670 to the transfer of Rupert's Land under the Canadian government's authority two centuries later, the Hudson's Bay Company produced some 800 manuscript maps and charts of the Western interior as well as another 557 segmental sketches. Over this period, map production involved approximately 160 Company personnel, along with another 50 Indians and Inuit. For its day, this was undoubtedly the largest collection to be amassed by an active business on the North American continent, leading geographer Richard Ruggles to conclude that the HBC was Canada's first national mapping agency.

Although the Company hired apprentices with training in mathematics, the Hudson's Bay Company

An early map of the Canadian plains and Missouri watershed as copied in 1802 by Peter Fidler from an original by The Feathers, a Blackfoot chief. As with most native maps, geographical phenomena have been reduced to their basic geometric form — that is, lakes appear as circles and rivers as straight lines.





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Lindsay Russell's 1871 manuscript map of Manitoba is considered the first official cartographic representation of the newly created province. It is a hand-drawn sketch prepared at the request of the Special Committee of the Privy Council.

did not establish an active surveying and drafting section in Canada. Map-making interests were always held secondary to regular day-to-day business duties. Maps were made for the executive committee in England so that Company officers would have a proper understanding of their trading territory and would be equipped with the necessary information to develop trading strategies. To a much lesser extent, specialty maps of property holdings were also produced, but only on an intermittent basis.

Henry Kelsey is generally recognized as the first European to venture onto the northern plains, but unfortunately his journey of 1690-2 left no cartographic record. Consequently, the first mapping of the plains through direct observation did not really begin until 1754 when Anthony Henday, also a Hudson's Bay Company employee, trekked to within sight of the Rocky Mountains. However, it was Peter Fidler and David Thompson who were probably the most prolific of the early scientific map-makers of the Prairies.

Fidler established Chesterfield House, the Company's first grassland post, in 1800. Situated at the junction of the South Saskatchewan and Red Deer Rivers, Fidler took advantage of this and subsequent opportunities to collect information on the Prairies otherwise denied to his colleagues. The influence of native sources on his cartography is evident in a number of Fidler maps preserved today in archival collections. These maps are generally characterized by the way in which they reduced geographical phenomena to their basic geometrical form. For example, rivers are usually drafted as straight lines and lakes as simple circles. Although Fidler never published maps of his own, his notes proved immensely important to other publishers, such as the Arrowsmith family and cartographer G. Taylor.

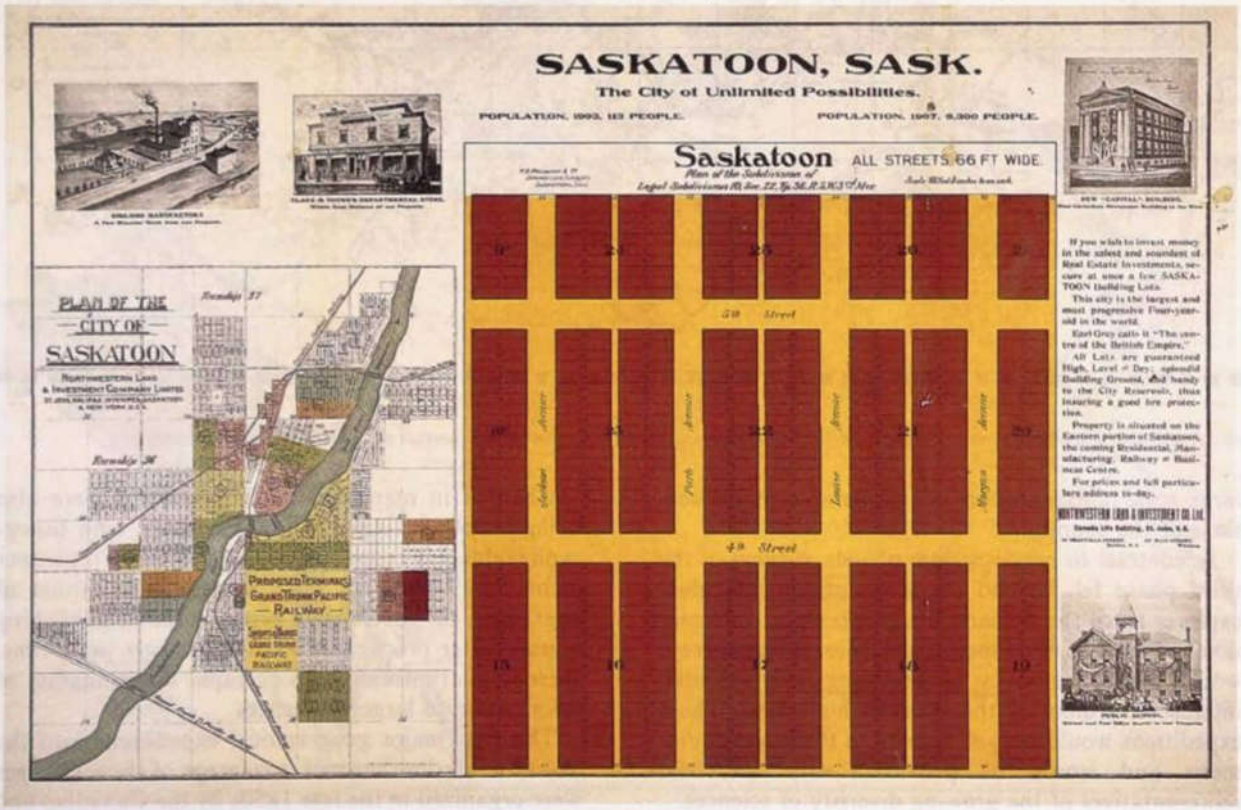
David Thompson's surveys of the Prairies were equally impressive in that they were the first to provide a comprehensive overview of the region. Thompson travelled throughout much of Western Canada conducting surveys first for the Hudson's Bay Company, 1790-1797, and later for the North West Company, 1797-1812. On his retirement Thompson compiled his surveys into an overview map of the North-West Territories which, because of its exactness, has been hailed as one of the greatest triumphs of Canadian cartography.

The data collected by Fidler, Thompson, and other Hudson's Bay Company personnel was sent to London where it was incorporated with information arriving from other parts of North America — such as that offered by the Lewis and Clarke expedition — into the maps published by John and Aaron Arrowsmith. As the unofficial cartographers of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Arrowsmith firm was given access to all the Company's travel records and sketch maps. First introduced in 1791, the Arrowsmith maps of North America and British North America were revised at least 15 times until the demise of the company about a half-century later.

The Arrowsmith maps provide a concise record of Euro-Canadian knowledge of the Prairies for this time period. They also offer an interesting look at some of the problems with early-nineteenth century cartographic technology. For example, while locational data on geographical features improved significantly over the course of their production, problems were encountered with the graphic presentation of topographic information. The height of land on the Arrowsmith maps was given a prominent shading, a technique which exaggerated the feature's significance so that it appeared as a mountain range. The earlier maps also show a significant difference in their coverage of the Missouri and Saskatchewan River systems. This difference is an example of the extent to which progress on the mapping of the Canadian Prairies lagged behind the mapping of their American counterpart.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a third wave of mapping activities began to sweep across the Prairies. This third phase received its major impetus from attempts by eastern expansionists to exploit resources other than the fur trade and to bring the region more closely under Canadian control. In this last phase, a greater variety of maps would be introduced, and cartographic methods of portraying information would become more sophisticated. Although the demand for increasingly accurate, small-scale maps would continue, there would also be, for the first time, a need to produce detailed

A plan of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, published by the Northwestern Land Investments Company of Winnipeg, circa 1907. In their bid to attract new residents to the West, many companies used maps in their advertising.



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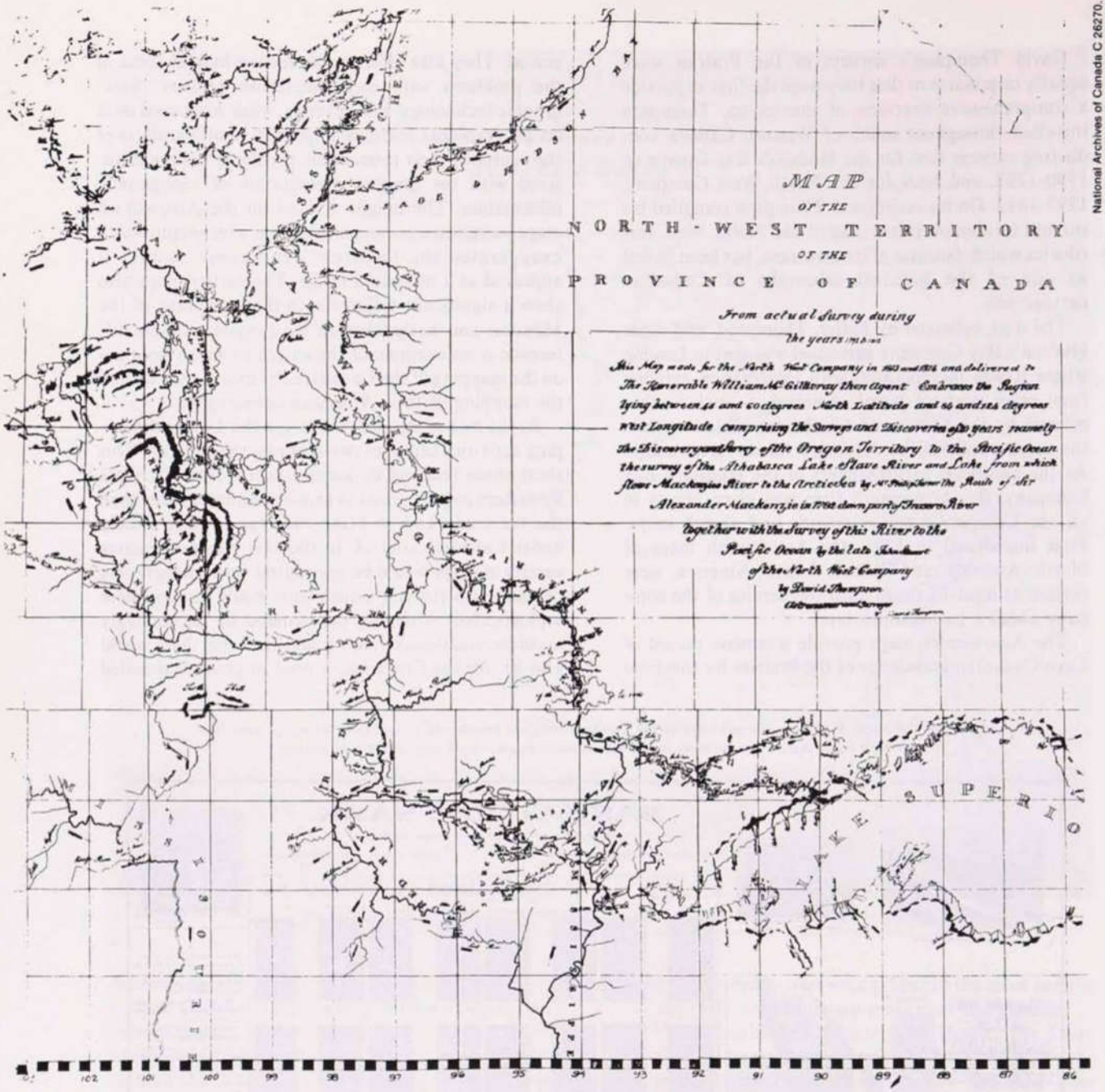

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Detail from David Thompson's map of western British North America, 1813-1814, showing the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

large-scale representations of smaller and smaller sections of the country.

In contrast to previous time periods, surveys of the third phase fell beyond the scope of the individual explorer since the demand for geographical information had become more specialized. Most future surveys would be sponsored by governments with a vested interest in promoting the Western hinterland. These expeditions would be well funded in the latest equipment and would be provided with the best representatives of the growing diversity of sciences.

Changes in map-production technology were also being introduced almost simultaneously, with lithography replacing copper engraving. Although the newer technology would not have the sharp definition of engraving, the mechanical presses offered publishing houses faster production times and larger press runs, thereby guaranteeing a more rapid dissemination of information to larger audiences.

The first major geographical expeditions into the Western interior that took advantage of these changes were organized in the late 1850s by the Canadian and

British governments. The expeditions were organized for the purpose of gaining first-hand information on the country and its potential for settlement. The Canadian surveys were led by Henry Youle Hind, a professor of chemistry and geology, and Simon J. Dawson, a civil engineer. Captain John Palliser, an army officer and adventurer, led the British expedition. Both parties alerted Eastern Canada to the potential of the Northwest for agriculture and provided the first truly scientific basis from which to promote Western expansionism.

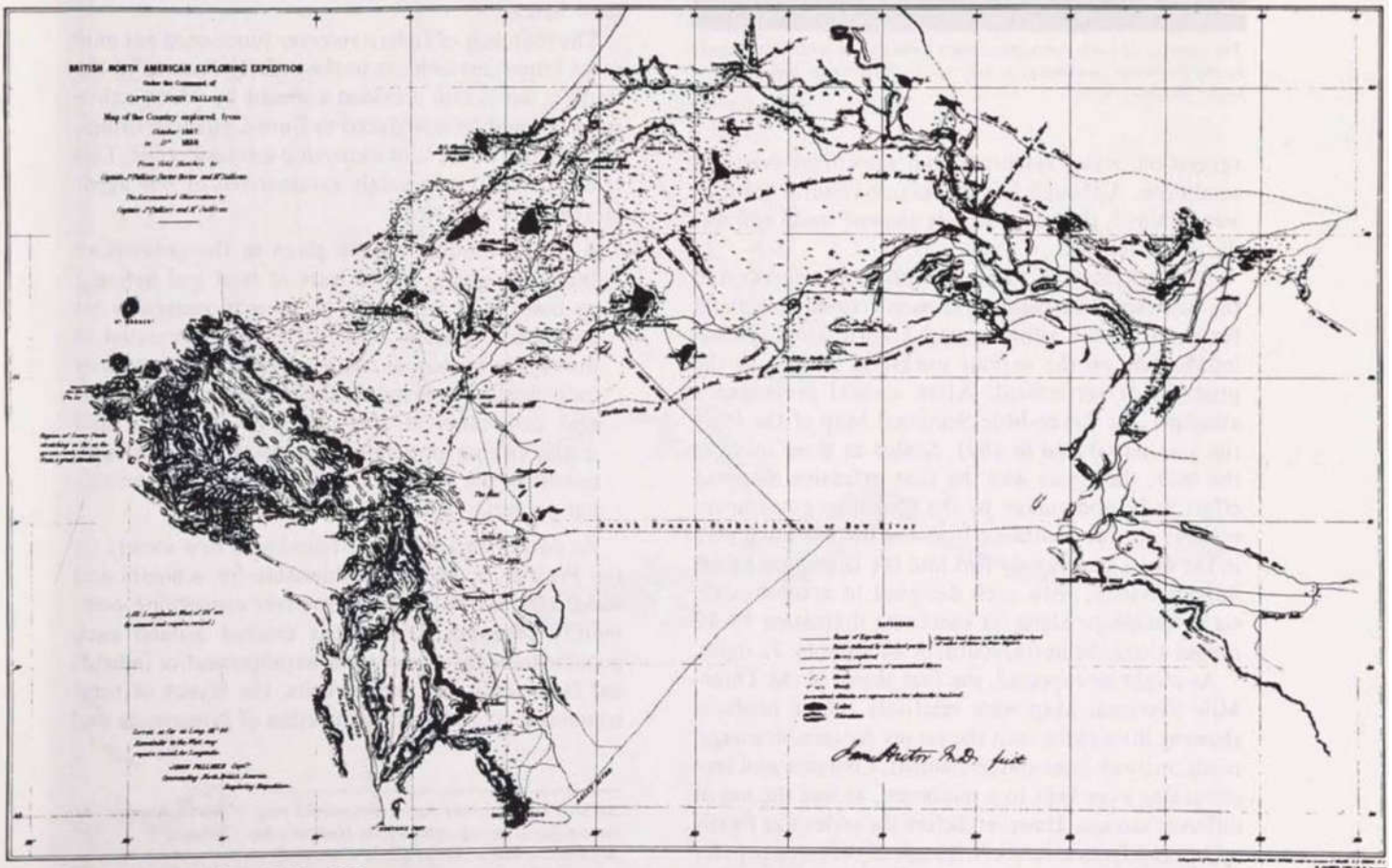
Accompanied by an array of scientists, engineers, and surveyors, the British and Canadian expeditions took notes and measurements on landforms, vegetation, rock formations, soil, inhabitants and climate. Although both parties produced numerous cartographic items, it was Palliser's maps which stand among the most attractive. His 1865 compilation of the area between the Pacific and Lake Superior, which was printed in colour, very quickly became more popular than similar black and white renditions by Dawson and Hind. For many years, Palliser's cartographic material was incorporated by other authors into their own maps.

Palliser was also to have a long-lasting influence on the settlement of the Prairies. He identified "Palliser's Triangle", an arid region south of the South Saskatchewan River, as unsuitable for cultivation. More than half a century passed before homesteaders challenged his assessment and eventually proved it incorrect.

With the expansion of Eastern Canada onto the Prairies following Confederation, the federal government began the Dominion Lands Survey. This was a survey which subdivided the new lands into a uniform plan of six-mile-square townships. Each of these townships was further subdivided into 36 sections, and the sections into quarter sections amounting to 160 acres each.

From the very beginning, provisions were established whereby an approved surveyor's plan of the individual townships had to be registered with the land titles office before a homestead could be offered to the new settler. In this way, the Dominion Lands Survey provided the orderly system of settlement envisioned by the expansionists. As cadastral surveys (a means of measuring land for taxation purposes), the township plans generally did not show topographic information, but they did provide a useful summary of the local

A section from Captain John Palliser's map of British North America.



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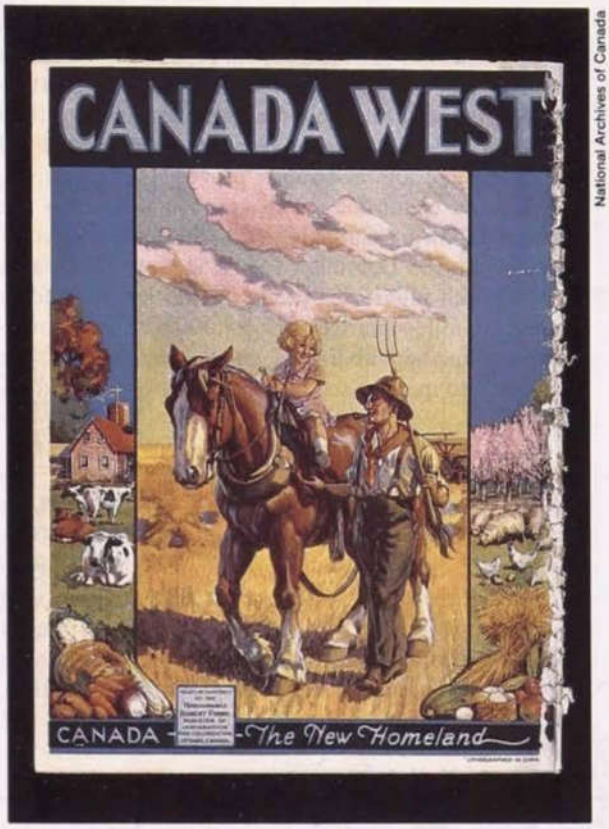


National Archives of Canada

The cover of an early twentieth-century immigration atlas distributed by the Dominion government as part of its plan to entice immigrants to the Western plains.

vegetation, water resources, and sometimes even soil conditions. Although information on cultural features was minimal, the plans usually showed roads and settler improvements.

Administrators of the Dominion Lands Survey and the homesteaders themselves soon created a demand for maps which summarized known geographical information on the various townships as well as the progress of settlement. After several preliminary attempts, the Three-Mile Sectional Map of the Prairies was introduced in 1891. Scaled at three miles to the inch, the series was the first extensive mapping effort to be undertaken by the Canadian government without outside assistance from the British. Each map in the series was closely tied into the Dominion Lands Survey system, with each designed to accommodate eight townships along its east/west dimension by 12 ranges along the north/south, or 48 miles by 72 miles.

As might be expected, the first sheets of the Three-Mile Sectional Map were relatively simple products showing little more than the survey pattern, drainage, roads, railway lines and settlement. Contours and spot elevations were kept to a minimum, as was the use of different colours. However, before the series was finally withdrawn from sale in 1967, some of the more popular sheets were upgraded to provide better topographic detail. The improved editions classified roads, railways and waterways, and included locational data on a larger number of cultural features such as schools, churches and power transmission lines.

Although the Eastern expansionists clearly saw the potential of Western agriculture in terms of their own prosperity, much of their rhetoric for Prairie settlement was expressed in patriotic terms — a patriotism which identified very strongly with the aspirations of the British Empire and looked to Victorian society as its model. For the expansionists, the process of transferring the Prairies under the Canadian marketing system entailed establishing a frontier society that was fashioned after its own image, an image based on British traditions.

It is only when this realization is taken into account that some of the projects of the third mapping phase come into proper focus. This is particularly true of the Dominion government's survey of Indian reserves. First initiated in Manitoba in 1877, the majority of Western reserves were laid out in the 1880s. As with the homestead lands, Indian reserves were located wherever possible so as to agree with the legal subdivisions established under the Dominion Lands Survey, which in some cases conflicted with the boundaries desired by local bands.

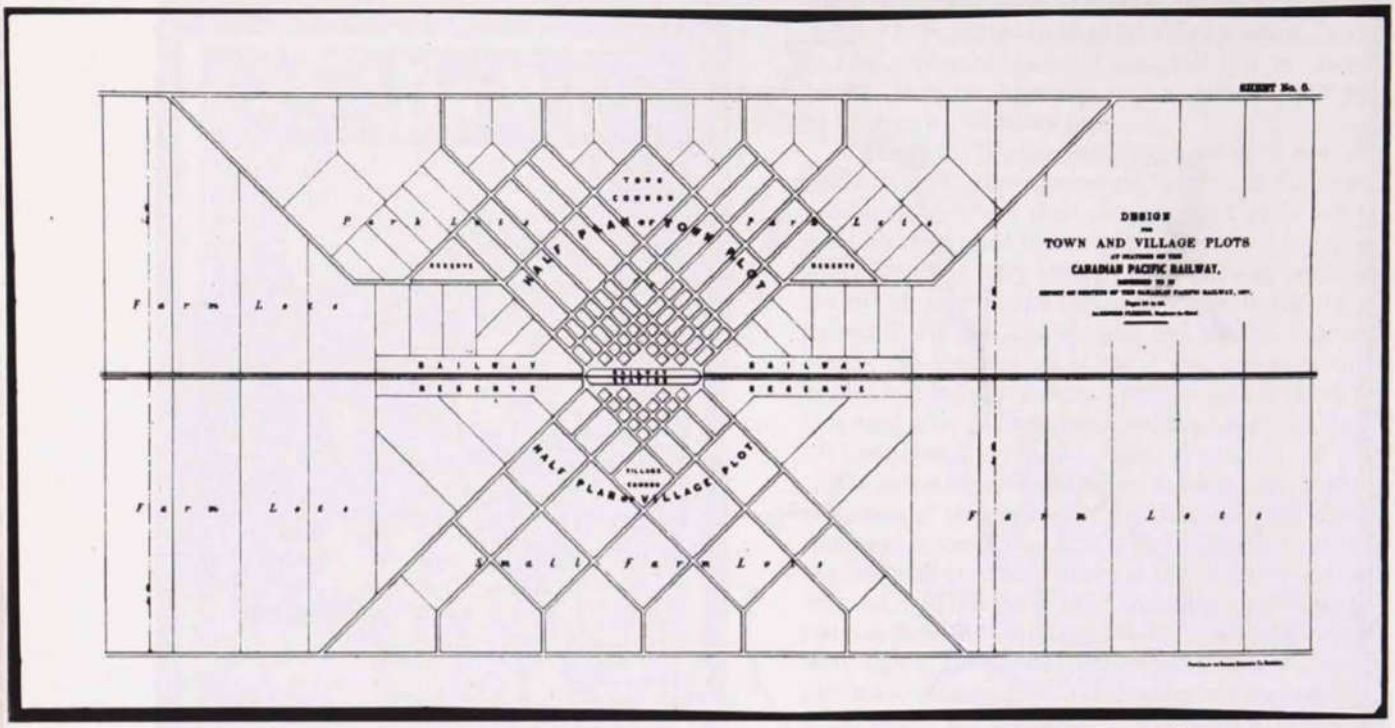
The mapping of Indian reserves functioned not only as an important adjunct to the orderly division of the Prairies but it also provided a means by which native peoples could be introduced to Euro-Canadian values, particularly where land ownership was concerned. This realization was adequately summarized by one agent in 1880 when he wrote:

> A great stimulus will be given to the industrious Indian by giving him a tract of land and defining its boundaries within which he may recognize his own estate. I know of no plan more calculated to discourage barbarous customs which tend to destroy individuality, or to induce the improvement and general cultivation of their reserves. The first and distinguishing principles of civilization, no doubt, consist in the recognition and protection of individual property rights. . . .

As part of the process of founding a new society on the Prairies, it became fashionable for scholars and social visionaries to debate matters concerning community planning. Discussions evolved around such popular topics as: the optimal arrangement of individual farm units and shelter belts; the layout of rural communities; and the organization of farmsteads and

An 1802 edition of the Aaron Arrowsmith map of North America. As the unofficial cartographer to the Hudson's Bay Company, Arrowsmith had access to all the Company's surveys and reports.

National Archives of Canada NMC — 19787



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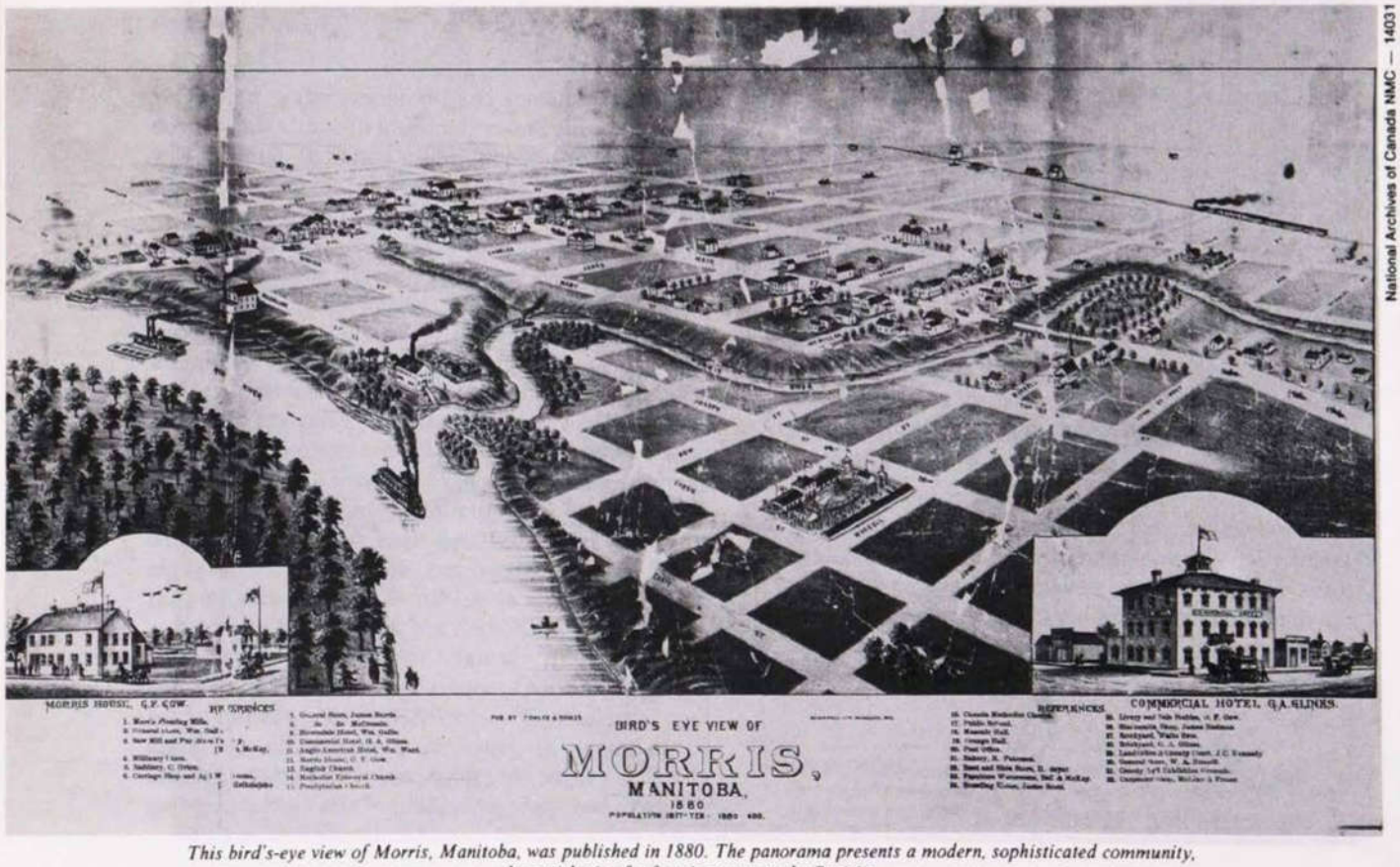
A proposed layout for Western towns by Sandford Fleming, the Engineer-in-chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1877. The design was never followed.



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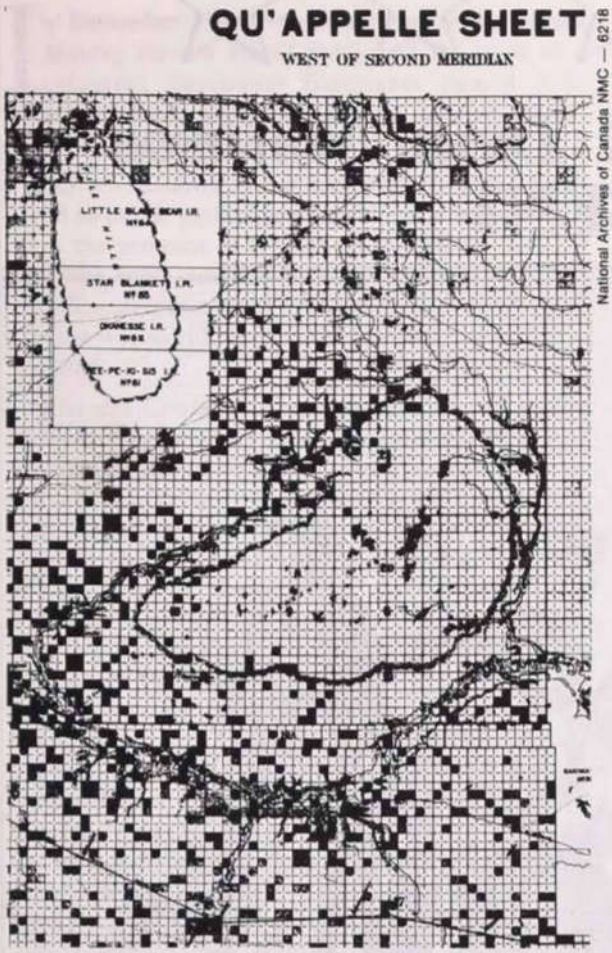
This bird's-eye view of Morris, Manitoba, was published in 1880. The panorama presents a modern, sophisticated community, the antithesis of a frontier town on the Prairies.



Detail from an 1894 sectional map of the Qu'Appelle Valley of Saskatchewan. The dark areas mark where land titles have been granted.

transportation corridors. Maps provided an important visual summation of their ideas and usually accompanied their reports. The majority of these dissertations were really nothing more than an expression of personal tastes or preferences and were firmly entrenched in British values.

For example, Sir Sandford Fleming, the Engineer-in-Chief for the Canadian Pacific Railway, published town plans for railway communities in his 1877 report on Western railway construction. Although his model community was somewhat original, it still reflected the Victorian sense of order and symmetry. Other planners were quite concerned with the psychological effects of isolated homesteads on farmers and issued maps as part of their call for a realignment of rural and urban areas through the establishment of farm-operator villages. Still others wanted to see changes to the rectangularity of the countryside imposed by the Dominion Lands Survey and published special maps with their reports and brochures to support their claims. Fortunately, most of these ideas were never developed beyond the planning stage.

Canada's immigration policy worked reasonably well for the Western Prairies, with the majority of farmlands taken up in the 40-year period prior to World War I. Part of this success can be attributed to the promotional campaign mounted by both the private and public sectors to expound the virtues of the Prairies. Maps, in particular, played a significant role in this campaign because they lent an air of objectivity to what were otherwise very biased presentations.

For its part, the Dominion government produced an inexpensive atlas series which provided important, general information on immigration to Canada and specifically on prairie homesteading. These immigration atlases were distributed free of charge throughout western Europe and the United States. Promotional items produced by the private sector, on the other hand, focused almost exclusively on their company's land holdings, the major transportation networks leading to these holdings, and the procedures by which homesteaders could purchase lands.

In both cases, the maps accompanying the immigration literature were usually accurate but poor in quality while the textual descriptions and illustrations were garish and sensational, almost bordering along the lines of propaganda. For example, an 1882 map of the North West Land Company's holdings in Manitoba not only makes extravagant claims about the climate and soil but also the short period in which a well-established farm could be developed. The accompanying illustrations show a countryside more reminiscent of rural Ontario than the Prairies.

The cartography of the Prairies may be summarized as the gradual replacement of speculation with increasingly more accurate and scientifically established detail. At first, Europe's understanding of the Western interior was minimal; consequently, the earliest maps concentrated on delineating the shape of the continent and its major physical features — both known and imagined. Only when the continent began to reveal its own secret wealth did the need for more precise information come into greater demand. The quest for data on climate, vegetation, geology, topography, and a host of cultural phenomena also grew in concert with innovations in the printing process and improvements in the methods of cartographic presentation. As a result, most Canadians today have a reasonably accurate perception of the Prairies. This knowledge is now part of their geographical heritage — a heritage which was acquired from several centuries of exploration and mapping. ◆

Jeffrey S. Murray is an archivist with the Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Dennis J. Duffy & David Mattison
PRESENT

A.D. KEAN

Canada's Cowboy Movie-Maker

In December 1916, the American trade journal *Moving Picture World* publicized the work of a colourful Vancouver filmmaker named A.D. "Cowboy" Kean. Outlining some of his recent successes, the account concluded with this tribute:

> A.D. is Vancouver's most distinctive town character, and no public gathering is considered complete without the presence of the box on the tripod, the high leather boots, and the big sombrero. Mr. Kean has made a strenuous fight to attain his present standing in the film world, but from now on it looks like plain sailing.

Who was Cowboy Kean, and what was the nature of his strenuous fight? Until recently, the little that was known to film historians about this pioneer cameraman was gleaned from sporadic references in trade journals and government records. The recent acquisition by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia of Kean's papers, photographs and scrapbooks makes it possible to unravel the fascinating thread of his life.

Arthur David Kean was born in Emerson, Manitoba, on 26 February 1882, the first of four sons, and grew up roaming the western United States with his family. His father, Levi D. Kean, had suffered severe financial losses in the 1882 Red River flood at Winnipeg and spent the 1880s and 1890s as a horse broker, principally for the United States Army. In 1897, after Arthur's graduation from high school in Houston, Texas, his mother's failing health brought about the family's return to Canada.

A.D. Kean hunted, trapped and ran pack trains in the Kootenays for two years. He moved on to the Okanagan and Boundary country where he and a younger brother operated passenger and freight lines, rounded up wild horses, and supplied beef to logging and mining camps, as well as construction crews working on the Kettle Valley railway. It was also during this period, while living in Rock Creek, that Kean married Jane Cudworth and became a father.

Like many other cowboys throughout the Pacific Northwest rangelands, Kean regularly competed in rodeos. In October 1900 he turned a profit on his horsemanship by carrying land applications for Washington speculators and settlers 135 miles in a twenty-hour, five-horse relay. Many years later he credited a pair of spurs hammered out in 1876 at Fort Worth, Texas, with helping him win several competitions. They were a farewell gift from one Johnny Morgan, a boyhood hero who worked for Kean's father until 1896 or 1897.

It may have been Kean's business association with Patrick Burns and Company, the Calgary meat packers, which brought him to compete in the inaugural Calgary Stampede of September 1912. Kean, with his string of championships, was no doubt among the dozens of performers tempted by the thousand-dollar cash prizes for three main events.

While a theatrical short, *The Calgary Stampede*, shot for a Winnipeg production company, Starland Ltd., is attributed to Kean, his actual role on the film is unclear. Within two years, at any rate, Kean was busy shooting his own films, having graduated within a short time from high-speed stop-action photography to live-action cinematography.

One of Kean's last competitive rides was at the Winnipeg Stampede in August 1913. An unidentified "old-time picture operator" filmed Kean in a dramatic wild horse race in which he finished dead last due to his mount's uncompetitive and unco-operative spirit. On another day, Kean was luckier, placing second in the wild horse race.

With a wife and three children to support, Kean ventured into a slightly more stable line of employment, combining rodeo promotion with motion picture production. He settled down in Vancouver where he financed, shot, promoted, and circulated films with one goal: "to see Canadian and particularly British Columbia scenic, natural resource and wild life pictures presented from the screens of our local theatres". One of his first productions drew upon his cowboy background: he filmed the provincial rodeo championship rides at Vancouver's Minoru Park in 1913. According to one newspaper account, "he was knocked over several times during the bronco-busting competitions when he took his camera too close to the scene of action. Once a bull knocked him off his horse, and trampled all over him, the horse and the camera. He still lives".

Besides surviving the mayhem of rodeos, Kean had several other hurdles to surmount before he could achieve true independent producer status. The first obstacle was the acquisition of his own camera. Kean claimed he was blocked from buying a camera by the "monopolistic operations" of the American Motion Picture Patents Company and its film exchange subsidiary, the General Film Company, which also operated in Canada. He finally managed to purchase a British camera, which he claimed was the first motion picture camera passed through Canadian customs for resale.

His second problem was to find suitable subjects for filming. He chose the Vancouver National Exhibition grounds at Hastings Park, predecessor of today's Pacific National Exhibition, and in the spring of 1914 negotiated exclusive rights to film events on the grounds.

Instead of remaining in Vancouver, however, Kean relocated to Victoria in May or June 1914 where he worked with L. J. Quagliotti's Capital Film Company.

(opposite page). Director A.D. Kean (holding camera) with his assistant J.R. Nesbit (leaning on tripod) and unidentified helpers on location near Macleod, Alberta. Archives of British Columbia HP 97566

Glenbow Archives NA-335-42

A.D. Kean rides "Gray Slivers" at the first Calgary Stampede, September 1912.

Kean's job was to gather footage in Victoria, Vancouver and elsewhere in the province for the B.C. Weekly Newsreel. The province's first home-grown newsreel premiered on 26 June 1914 at the Romano Theatre in Victoria. Some of the news was not exactly current, but would still be of interest today if the films had survived: one of the topics was the *Komagata Maru* incident — in which illegal immigrants from India were prevented from leaving a ship in Vancouver harbour. At least two films made in 1914 by Capital Film are preserved by the National Archives of Canada: one a prize fight, the other a Victoria patriotic parade.

Kean later recalled that during the spring and summer of 1914 he took "several thousand feet of what I have every reason to believe were the very first movies produced exclusively — that is exposed, developed and printed-in-Canada [by a Canadian]". He next struggled with finding a sympathetic theatre manager willing to buck the American-controlled film exchanges. His advancement as an independent film producer was hindered by the same overwhelming American cinematic presence still dogging Canada's film industry. American exchanges in Vancouver had local distribution hogtied slick and tight.

During his attempts to convince film exchange members to show his local productions, Kean was reported to the censor's office in Vancouver and ordered by that agency to apply for an exhibitor's licence and submit his films to censorship. Thus began Kean's decade-long battle with provincial authorities to loosen film projection regulations.

Vancouver theatre managers showed no interest in Kean's Vancouver Exhibition film. The sole exception was E. D. Graham of the Pantages Theatre who booked the single reel for a week at $25. Encouraged by this modest success, Kean put together another film, *The B.C. Animated Review*, which the Pantages Theatre showed in November 1914. Determined to get his films out, he established his own exchange under the name Kean's Canada Films.

Kean drew upon his rodeo experience once more when the Vancouver Exhibition Association hired him to stage the event "Range Days", beginning in September 1914. Nearly a decade later he was still running this Vancouver rodeo under the slogan, "First you catch them: then you ride them — maybe!"

The war raging across Europe in the fall of 1914 also broadened Kean's cinematic opportunities. Shortly after war was declared against Germany he attempted to enlist, but was turned down because of a broken ankle he had received at the Winnipeg Stampede in 1913.

Kean settled for creating a complete cinematic record of troops departing for the front. By 1916 he had four reels edited and titled as *B.C. for the Empire* which opened at Vancouver's Avenue Theatre. Only frag-

ments of the film survive, depicting the departure of individual units.

In June 1916 Kean filmed the departure of the 102nd Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force, known as "Warden's Warriors". The National Archives of Canada preserves this film, which is remarkable not only for surviving almost intact, but also because of the civilian who strolls into the picture, turns around and waves his trademark cowboy hat. This is probably the first instance of a Canadian cinematographer appearing in his own production. Kean also appeared, though not so blatantly, in the whaling film he shot three months later.

One of his most intriguing efforts during this period was a recruiting film set in Vancouver. Some of the film was shot in the city between Christmas 1916 and the New Year, described in a contemporary account:

> Outside the Vancouver Hotel a scene showing the enlistment of a recruit at the recruiting office there was taken in the presence of a large crowd. This afternoon another act will be taken, probably on Hastings Street, showing the civilian receiving the congratulations of friends whom he meets casually — on Hastings Street. The scenes are required for a seven-reel patriotic play now in preparation with the scene laid in Vancouver. An attempt was made to obtain a scene outside the Dominion Bank on Hastings Street at noon but owing to the large crowd which gathered, subduing the light necessary for successful reproduction, it was abandoned until later in the day.

By the end of the war, Kean's civilian service to the cause was impressive. In addition to the film record of troops departing and one or more recruiting films, he performed confidential services for the local military authorities, documented the first anniversary of Great Britain's entry into the war, released a comedy short *(The Adventures of Count E.Z. Kisser)*, and filmed a fund-raising dance and carnival in Vancouver.

Kean did not confine himself entirely to cinematic propaganda for the war effort. His love of the outdoors was expressed not only in his cowboy showmanship, but also in a series of films on wildlife. He was particularly interested in commercial whaling, as well as the controversy over sea lions and the depletion of salmon stocks.

In September 1916 Kean travelled to the Kyuquot station of the Victoria Whaling Company on Vancouver Island's west coast. James H. Hamilton, editor of the *Industrial Progress and Commercial Record*, agreed to assist the cinematographer on the condition that Kean write an article about the trip. Kean's account appeared in the November 1916 issue.

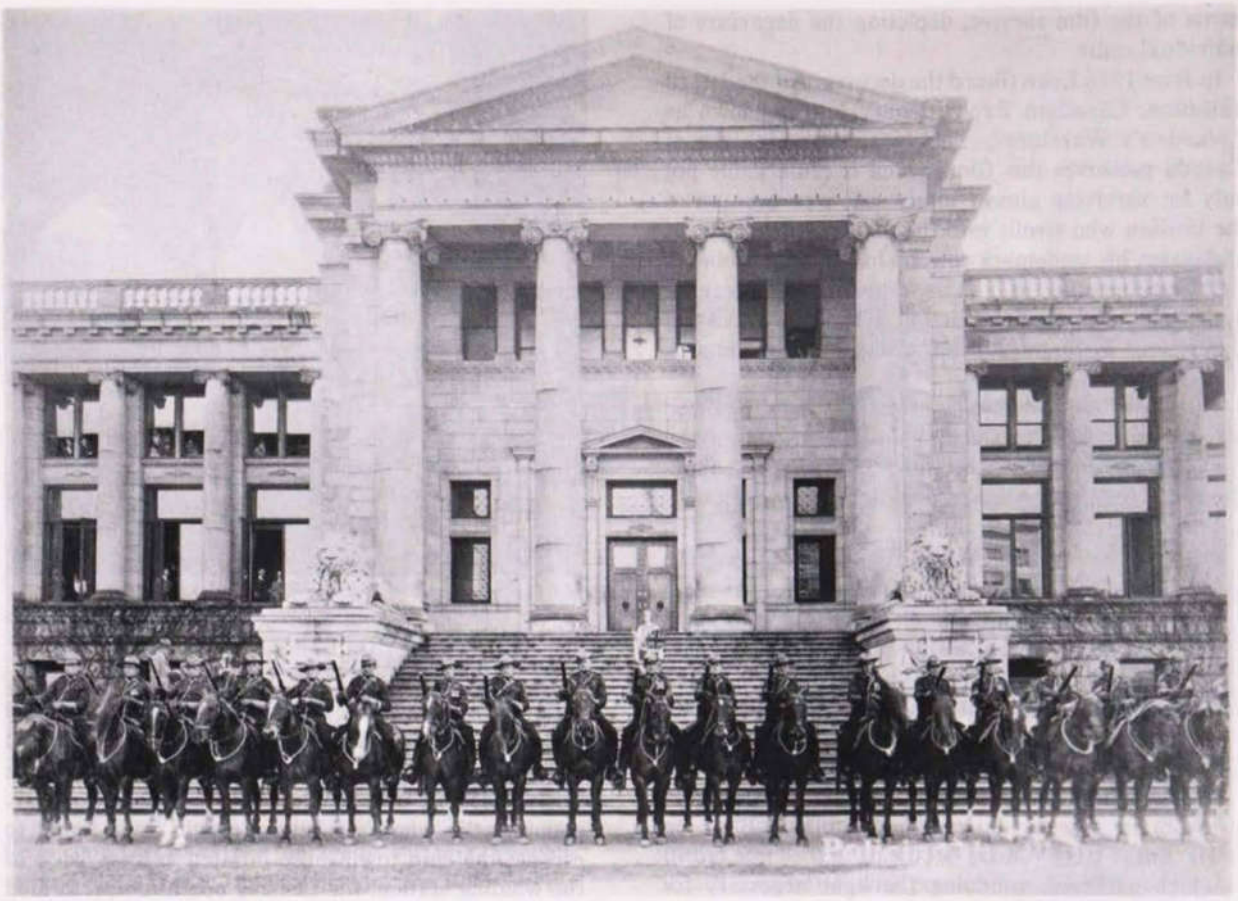
Kean optimistically titled his film *Whaling: B.C.'s Least Known and Most Romantic Industry*. It was the earliest motion picture devoted solely to commercial whaling on the B.C. coast. In it Kean presented the grisly spectacle of a whale hunt: the chase, the harpooning, the whale's frantic struggle as it fights to escape; the ship towing the inflated carcass back to the whaling station; the flensing operation performed by Japanese labourers and a steam winch, and a hellish scene of workers tending steaming vats of blubber. The film poignantly ends with a native Indian, described as an old-time whaler, "talking" to the camera, expressing his amazement at the white man's efficiency.

Archives of British Columbia

"A.D. Kean, the cowboy photographer of British Columbia", from "Moving Picture World", 23 December 1916.

During his time at the Kyuquot whaling station, Kean conceived another film on marine life after listening to Captain William Heater of the whaler *William Grant* curse sea lions as "useless devils". Braving seasickness once more, Kean shipped out in July 1917 on the *Gray*, a whaling tender of the Victoria Whaling Company. Disembarking at Rose Harbour on the Queen Charlotte Islands, he met with Captain Heater, whose vessel served as a camera platform off the Cape St. James rookery. Kean and an assistant also ventured out in a rowboat and lassoed an unlucky sea lion.

Kean's first dramatic feature, *Told in the Hills*, naturally drew upon his cowboy background. He travelled to Penticton and Princeton in September 1917 where he filmed the rodeos in both towns. Residents of Keremeos, Princeton and Penticton starred in the film, which also featured a Concord stagecoach run by a Penticton firm. After nearly a year had passed the Princeton newspaper excitedly promised that *Told in the Hills* was coming. Kean was credited with having



Archives of British Columbia HP 97907

Mounties pose in front of the Vancouver court house for the opening scene of "Policing the Plains". The symbolic figure of Britannia, portrayed by Margaret Lougheed, presides.

"written, directed and personally photographed this first native film drama". Whether the film ever played in Princeton or Penticton is not known. Several years later, Kean recalled that it had been lost after one screening; presumably the negative was destroyed as well.

By the end of World War I Kean's distribution problems were clearly not insurmountable, as several Vancouver and Victoria theatres were showing his films. He was not satisfied, however, and claimed a near-conspiracy on the part of the American film exchanges, and by the provincial censor's office. Established in June 1913 under the Moving Pictures Act, the censor's office managed aspects of film distribution by licensing projectionists and exhibitors, as well as regulating the contents of the films.

During one of his periodic bouts of correspondence with the provincial government, Kean learned about Dr. Albert Richard Baker, a Vancouver dentist who, as chairman of the Game Conservation Board, strongly championed the educational use of motion pictures. Dr. Baker was impressed by Kean's enthusiasm and drew up a one-year contract in February 1920 to secure his services as a cinematographer and projectionist for the Game Conservation Board.

A few months later Premier John Oliver's government established the British Columbia Patriotic and Educational Picture Service (BCPEPS). This unique service was also headed by Dr. Baker. The BCPEPS mandate was to acquire and distribute "films and slides of a patriotic, instructive, educative, or entertaining nature". Films were acquired from two major sources: Kean's personal collection and prints purchased from Pathéscope of Canada. Kean also shot new footage for BCPEPS in his capacity as a contract employee of the Game Conservation Board.

All motion picture theatres in the province were supplied free films and lantern slides which were supposed to be shown before the main feature. Theatres not complying could have their film exhibition licence suspended or revoked. The BCPEPS was the first government film unit in North America with statutory authority to compel the screening of its productions.

In his first and only annual report, Dr. Baker included a list of descriptive film titles arranged by their subject

matter. The categories were public works, agriculture, stock raising, mining, natural resources, beneficiaries, scenic topics and industries. Among the 69 films listed are ones about the diking of Sumas Prairie, the boys' industrial schools at Essondale and Point Grey near Vancouver, mothers' pensions, and films depicting secondary manufacturing and oil refining at Ioco. The patriotic substance of the BCPEPS' mandate was answered by such cinematic documents as the Canadian fleet in the Pacific, Empire Day in Stanley Park, military reviews, Navy League activities, the 1919 visit of the Prince of Wales, and the tallest flagpole in the world.

Blistering attacks in the British Columbia Legislative Assembly against the BCPEPS as a political propaganda tool were coupled with accusations of mismanagement and corruption under Dr. Baker's tenure as Game Conservation Board chairman. A one-man royal commission called in the winter of 1921-22 cleared Dr. Baker for lack of evidence. A. D. Kean testified, but kept silent on the alleged wrongdoings of his benefactor.

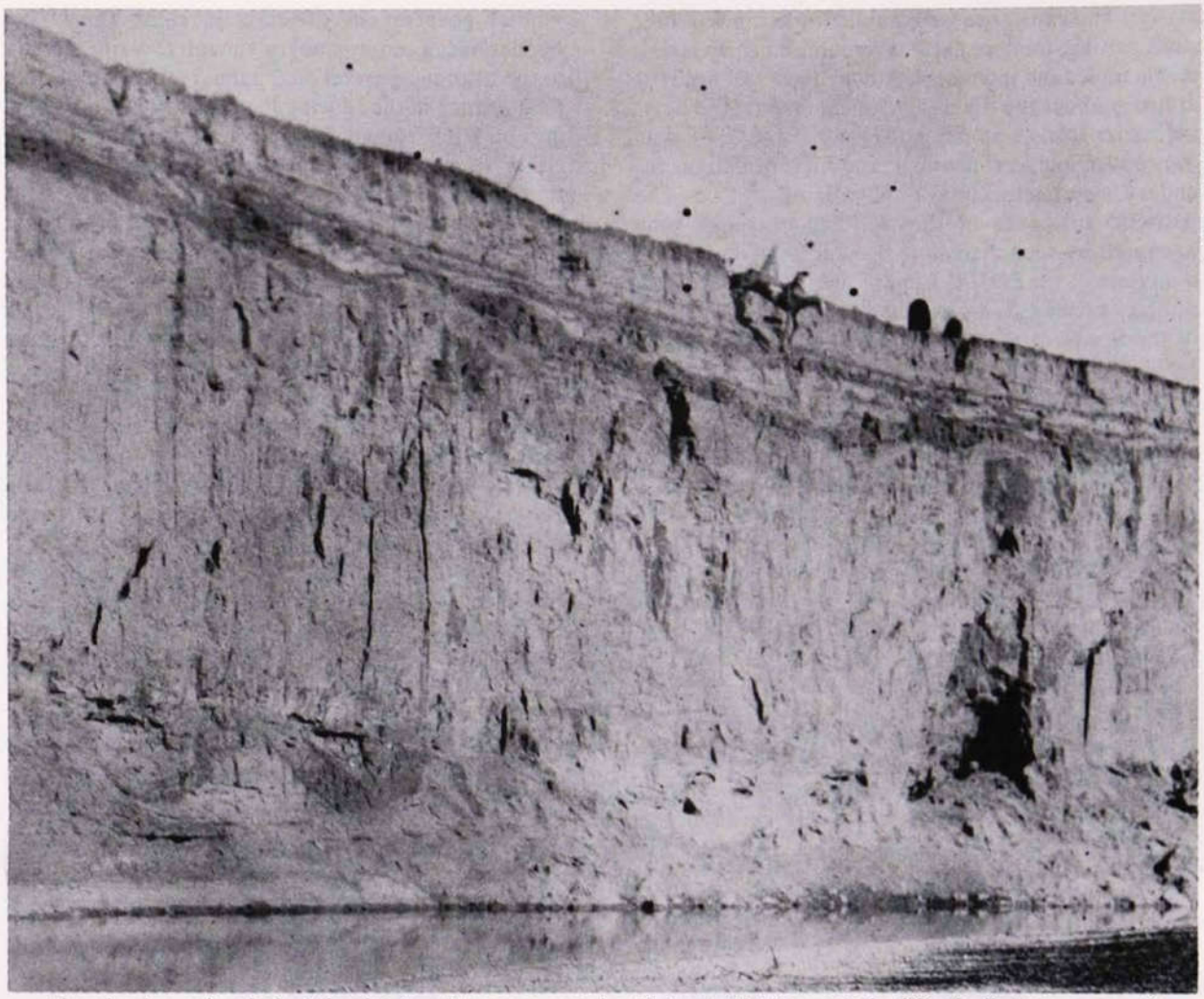
After a decade of cajoling and pleading with provincial government officials to relax their film regulations, Kean was angry enough to write directly to the attorney-general on 2 January 1924, appealing for a change in the Moving Picture Act. The attorney-general's department, however, was more interested in either recovering its unexposed film stock or being reimbursed for it by Kean.

Kean struck a deal, perhaps seeking cash to begin shooting his major film project, *Policing the Plains*. In March 1924 the censor's office purchased nearly 14,000 feet of negative footage from Kean. Kean's former employer, Dr. Baker, who inspected the footage after the sale, was critical of the technical quality, even though much of the footage had been shot by Kean under Baker's tenure. None of this material is known to exist. Its last known home was the Bureau of Provincial Information in Victoria, where some 108 reels had been shipped from the old Vancouver Courthouse in February 1937.

Tales of adventure held a special attraction for Kean. Early in 1924 he began channelling all his energies into the most audacious project of his life: an epic historical feature based on the book *Policing the Plains*

Guide Jerry Potts, played by Joe Flieger, meets the Mounties in "Policing the Plains". The other rider is Jack Boyd, the film's leading man. Both Flieger and Boyd were rodeo champions.

Archives of British Columbia HP 97582



Archives of British Columbia HP 97585

A legendary leap on horseback attributed to Jerry Potts was re-enacted on 27 August 1924. How was it done? See the illustration on page 39.

by the Reverend R. G. MacBeth of Vancouver. This popular history of the Royal North West Mounted Police, published in 1922, celebrated the force's exploits during its first fifty years.

The idea of filming the book was first put forward by Canadian Historic Features Limited, another Vancouver company. Filming was to commence in July 1922, but the project was stillborn. Among those involved was journalist Harwood Steele (son of Major-General Sir Sam Steele), who later wrote a number of popular books on the exploits of the Mounted Police.

On 28 January 1924 Kean signed a contract with MacBeth, securing the motion picture rights to *Policing the Plains* for $5,000. A few days later, Kean's Western Pictures Company signed with a syndicate of more than 40 subscribers, who agreed to finance a "first class motion picture", six reels (6,000 feet) in length, to be made for $40,000. The finished film eventually cost over $125,000 and ran to eight reels, ample indication of the project's ultimate scope.

In March 1924, the Western Pictures Company announced the forthcoming production of *Policing the Plains*. The initial announcement predicted that the film would be finished in time for a summer premiere at the British Empire Exposition in England. This was another unrealistic estimate; the photography of Kean's epic would not be completed until summer's end, three years later.

Filming was scheduled to begin with a sequence set at Chilkoot Pass in the Klondike era, to be shot near Grouse Mountain north of Vancouver. It is unclear if this was done. By the end of March the company had moved on to the Cariboo for a month of location shooting at Green Lake near 70 Mile House. Kean had filmed a rodeo at Green Lake the previous July and recalled the scenery as ideal for his story. One of the leading players, rodeo champion Jack Boyd, owned a ranch in the area that served as headquarters for the

shooting of several winter sequences.

As he worked on location, Kean also attended personally to the myriad details of production, including publicity and casting. When amusing episodes took place during shooting, he wrote them up for the press release. When Vancouver actor Senior Heaton wrote seeking work, Kean arranged a meeting and promptly cast him as the visionary "Canadian statesman" — a role for which Heaton's resemblance to John A. Macdonald made him an ideal choice.

Returning to Vancouver, Kean shot what he envisioned as the film's opening: a scene depicting the RCMP presence in the modern urban West. A portion of "E" division was filmed in front of Vancouver's imposing Court House. Colonel T. A. Wroughton, assistant commissioner of the force, led the mounted troop out into the city streets. The police were seen off from the court house steps by the symbolic figure of "Britannia", played by Calgary socialite Margaret Lougheed in the requisite robes, helmet, spear and shield.

Much of MacBeth's book focused upon the earliest exploits of the NWMP on the prairies, including the founding of Fort Macleod. As luck would have it, 1924 was the fiftieth anniversary of this event, and the town of Macleod, Alberta, was marking the occasion with a three-day celebration and stampede at the beginning of July. The jubilee provided Kean with a golden opportunity to shoot and promote his picture.

The cast and crew arrived at Macleod in time to take part in the jubilee festivities, which Kean filmed for posterity. Colonel Wroughton, on hand as official technical advisor, led the company to the first site of old Fort Macleod, where Kean put some men to work constructing a replica of the original log stockade. Working quickly and earnestly, Kean and company began to shoot some of the most fundamental episodes of the NWMP story — the Mounties' "great trek" across the prairies, the introduction of the half-breed scout Jerry Potts, and the force's early dealings with native people.

The company was well received by the town and by

This Hudson's Bay Company trading post scene was probably shot at Banff in February 1925.

Archives of British Columbia HP 97926

Archives of British Columbia HP 97921

A NWMP patrol pauses at the lonely grave of a comrade. Kean's motion picture camera stands in the foreground.

the region's Blood and Piegan Indians. When approached to take part in the project, the Bloods listened carefully to Colonel Wroughton's explanation and took to heart Kean's "All-Canadian" ideal. The Blood reserve at Standoff provided the setting for several key sequences, including re-enactments of the Cypress Hills massacre and the 1877 signing of Treaty Seven. Extant production stills from the latter scene reveal an impressive setup: an Indian encampment with teepees and wagons, innumerable costumed native extras, and a distinguished group of government officials escorted by NWMP constables. The Bloods' sincere interest in the project can be surmised from their action in making Kean an honourary chief. He was given the name *Oh-Mach-Ka-Si-Na-Ki* — "the one who writes with pictures".

Production continued steadily through August and September with the shooting of several action scenes, including the raid on Fort Whoop-Up, a mounted skirmish between the Bloods and a group of crooked fur traders, and the arrest of Charcoal for the 1896 murder of Sergeant Wilde.

By the end of September the company had been at Macleod for three months, but the film was far from complete. Beyond the seasonal and logistical requirements that complicate the production of any historical epic, Kean was further hampered by his own working habits. With a relatively small support crew, he was personally handling the key creative roles of production, writing, direction and photography — an unheard-of situation in conventional feature films, then or now. He also took an active part in raising funds, handling accounts, acquiring props and arranging publicity; he even processed some of the film footage. One series of stills shows him helping an actor into his costume. The effort required of him in this multiple role was extremely taxing.

In December Kean was again in Macleod, shooting winter scenes of the fort's founding. On 26 December he screened a 20-minute film about Macleod and the stampede for members of the Jubilee Committee. February 1925 found him filming the winter carnival in Banff, where he arranged to employ Harry Knight's champion dog team in some scenes for *Policing the Plains*. A log cabin was converted into an early Hudson's Bay post for the filming. Utilizing a total of six dog teams, Kean also shot scenes depicting Mounties on a northern patrol with Indian guides.

On such an ambitious undertaking cash-flow was a continual problem, forcing Kean to shut down production more than once. In March 1925 he wrote to CPR vice-president Grant Hall, asking him to consider investing $10,000 in the project. Hall visited MacBeth in Vancouver and viewed a section of the footage, but politely declined investment. To a pragmatic businessman, an all-Canadian film would have seemed a very risky investment. The money shortage also brought an acrimonious tone to Kean's correspondence with

his business manager, J. L. Lougheed, who was struggling to collect payments promised by investors. This situation would be alleviated in the fall of the year by the creation of a joint stock company, Policing The Plains Productions Limited, to take over financially and complete the film. Even so, one of the first things Kean did under the new company was dispatch his assistant, J. R. Nesbit, to chat up investors in the East.

Kean spent some time that spring on location with a Hollywood film, *Winds of Chance*, which was being shot in British Columbia by First National Pictures. Kean's presence at the filming is confirmed by several photos in his album showing the cast and crew. It is not clear whether he was working on the film or simply visiting. The director, Frank Lloyd, had spent part of his youth in Canada, and the two men may have swapped stories about the prairies. As the film's difficult action sequences went before the camera, Kean no doubt found it a pleasant change to see someone else carrying the responsibility of a big feature.

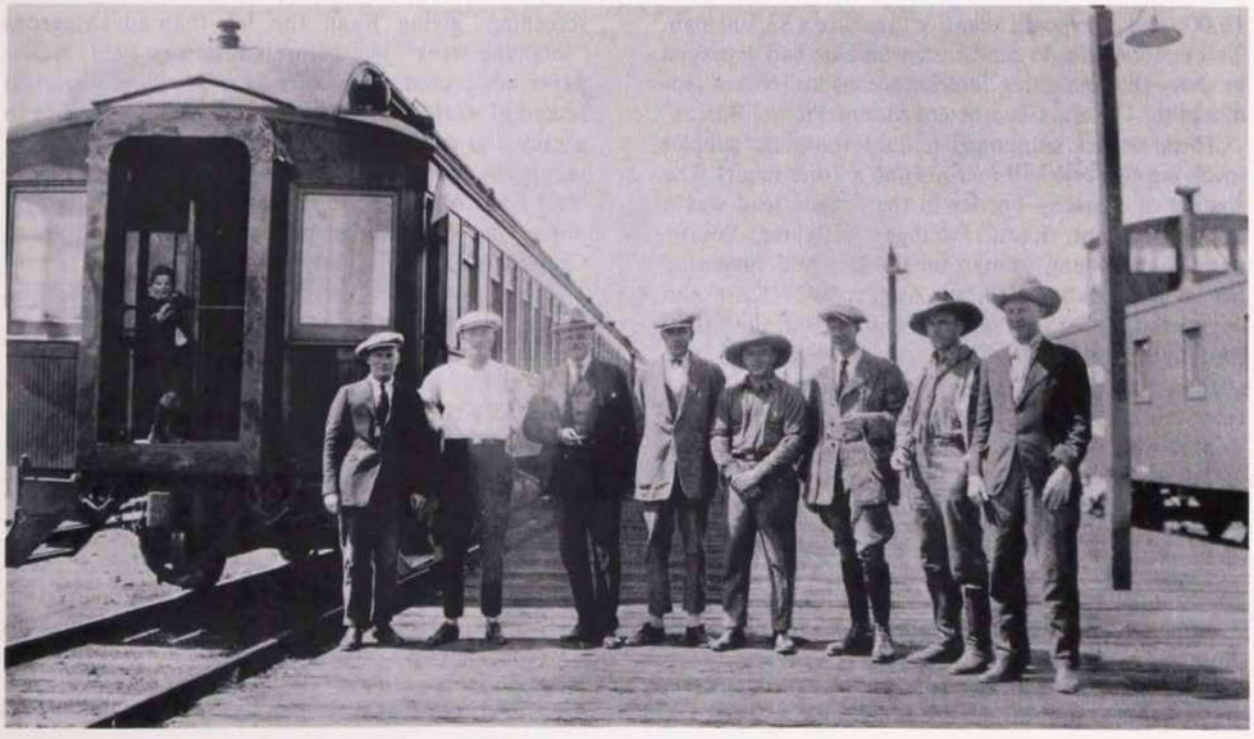
The second summer's filming of *Policing the Plains* repeated some scenes from the previous year, suggesting that Kean was re-shooting material that had not worked out. Lab technicians who dealt with the film at various stages recall exposure and focus problems with some of the footage. One new sequence, however, was an Indian buffalo hunt. Part of it was shot near Macleod, where an actor was filmed dispatching an animal with bow and arrow. The victim was a steer, fitted out in a buffalo hide. Happily for the steer, this disguise was rigged to accept the arrows and leave him unscathed. In October Kean filmed a protected buffalo herd at Buffalo National Park near Wainwright, Alberta. The footage from the two locations could then be intercut to complete the sequence. An item that appeared in *Canadian Moving Picture Digest* at the end of October indicates the scale of the production:

> So far the director has utilized 1,650 Indians in the garb of the fast disappearing days; 75 covered wagons and Red River carts; 2,000 horses and 1,500 head of cattle; a full complement of Canadian Mounted Police; aeroplanes, seaplanes, two ocean liners, railway construction gangs, and early farm scenes.

Little is known about Kean's activities for the rest of 1925 and throughout 1926. It is reasonable to assume that his earlier pattern continued, alternating periods of intensive production with stretches of fundraising or unrelated work. Somehow he managed to hold the project together. To pioneer director Gordon Sparling, Kean's struggle to complete the film was "a good example of someone with a burning light ahead of him, trying to accomplish something".

In April 1927 the company was completing location filming in or around Vancouver. The financial problems persisted, and Kean obtained a mortgage on the

Some cast members bid farewell to their technical advisor, Assistant Commissioner T.A. Wroughton, on his departure from Macleod. Left to right: Ira Boyd, Jack Boyd, Wroughton, Norman Thorne, Joe Flieger, Senior Heaton, Charles Edgar and Buster Connelly.



Archives of British Columbia HP 97694

Archives of British Columbia HP 97927

The CPR's end of steel, guarded by the North West Mounted Police. This still from "Policing the Plains" is frequently published as an "authentic" 1880s photograph.

16,000 feet of exposed negative to secure a $3,500 loan. This enabled him to head east, where he had arranged to shoot the remaining interior scenes at Trenton studios of the Ontario Government Motion Picture Bureau.

These scenes comprised a light romantic subplot involving two NWMP recruits and a Toronto girl. The casting of Dorothy Fowler in the female lead was a happy accident; Kean's younger daughter, Louise, noticed the young woman on the bus and suggested her as a candidate. By late August 1927 Kean had completed all the studio scenes and, at last, the actual filming of *Policing the Plains*. Principal photography spanning a period of three years and five months is a record rarely equalled, even by Hollywood blockbusters.

This was hardly the end of Kean's struggle. He arranged to premiere the film at Toronto's Massey Hall during the Canadian National Exhibition, but the film lab complained of "an impossible negative", temporarily misplaced part of the picture, and eventually delivered a print too late for the screening.

After unsuccessfully wrangling with several distributors and exhibitors, Kean rented the Royal Alexandra Theatre in Toronto for two weeks. The administration in New York cut this to one week and delayed the screening, giving Kean the less-than-advantageous "shopping week" just before Christmas 1927. Newspaper ads touted the picture as a "thrilling historical record of world-famous Northwest Mounted Police in a racy and romantic film epic". Another advertising tag, perhaps more appropriate, was "The West Before Your Eyes At Last". *Policing the Plains* finally premiered on 19 December and was shown nightly until Christmas Eve, with matinees each day.

A plot synopsis in the theatre programme provides a valuable description of *Policing the Plains* in its finished form. The film began with the discovery of Hudson Bay, scenes on the plains, and the Confederation of Canada; it then followed the creation of the force, the trip West and the establishment of Fort Macleod. The role of the Mounties in settling in the West, their dealings with the Indians and the story of the CPR were counterpointed by the "romance in Toronto". The concluding reel showed the force's twentieth-century role and scenes of "modern civilization in the West", fulfilling the vision of the "Canadian statesmen". This synopsis suggests a work to rival the scope of John Ford's classic, *The Iron Horse* (1924).

Critical reaction was divided. The Toronto *Daily*

Star praised the film's authenticity but faulted it for a "lack of enough dramatic technique" and a "somewhat ambiguous" final reel. The main impression was that Kean had sacrificed drama for picayune historical accuracy. The *Globe*, however, was more enthusiastic. A review headed "Great Canadian Film Scores a Hit at Royal Alexandra" cheered the picture's "remarkable faithfulness" in recalling the atmosphere of the pioneer period. It concluded, ". . . the whole film is a triumph for Canadian enterprise, and is emphatically one of the significant screen achievements that no one can afford to miss. . . . The applause last night was very hearty and very well deserved".

It was at this point that Kean's ambitions were thwarted. Although the Toronto showing may have lost money, he was prepared to continue, anticipating a profit in the film's general release. He was never given the chance; the frustrations of a decade before were repeated. The Canadian distribution and exhibition chains were controlled by American companies. These companies had no desire to advance the cause of an independent producer who was in direct competition. Canadian theatre managers interested in booking *Policing the Plains* were unable to buck the system. Kean later spoke bitterly of "stumbling blocks", but he could not identify the individuals responsible.

Thinking that the situation might change, Kean placed the negative in the Toronto vault of the Ontario Board of Censors of Motion Pictures. However, the screenings in Toronto were destined to be the only public showing. The arrival of the sound era and the Depression eliminated any chance of successfully reviving the film. In 1937 the film was still in the vault; beyond that date its whereabouts is a mystery.

For whatever reason, *Policing the Plains* failed to reach an audience, and Kean's filmmaking career came to an end. In 1928, his marriage over, he moved to the Toronto area and established himself as a freelance writer. In 1929 he remarried and moved onto a seven-acre property at the northern edge of North York, where he kept several horses. During the latter half of that year he read the news on radio station CFCA, owned by the Toronto *Daily Star*.

He also became a regular contributor to the newspaper's Sunday supplement, the *Star Weekly*. His articles were drawn almost exclusively from his own experiences in the West before World War I. He wrote about cherished subjects: horses, cowboys, Indians, whaling, sailing and hunting. He reached back to his childhood to recall an encounter with the retired bandit Frank James at the horse corrals in Los Angeles. Any references to filmmaking were made only in passing; it was the cowboy in Kean that once again came to the fore.

The control of film distribution and exhibition in Canada remained a contentious issue. In 1930, under the Combines Investigation Act, the federal government empowered Peter White, K. C., to look into an

The crew prepares for the Jerry Potts "legendary leap" depicted on page 34. How was it done? Both horse and rider were dummies.

Archives of British Columbia HP 97586

Archives of British Columbia HP 97930

Director A.D. Kean (on foot, right) prepares the "victim" for a buffalo hunt scene filmed near Macleod, July 1925. A disguised steer stood in for the buffalo in some shots, with no injury to the animal.

alleged monopoly in the exhibition field. The investigation formed a postscript to A. D. Kean's film career; on 2 March 1931, he was the first Canadian producer to testify before White. It was on this occasion that he mentioned the loss of *Told in the Hills* and recalled the difficulties he had encountered in screening *Policing the Plains*. Concluding his testimony, Kean stated that he was glad to be "out of movies and in the newspaper business".

In the newspaper and radio business, in fact, Kean was having more success. In 1932 he did a series of talks on "Cowboy and Wild Life Adventures" for CFCA, and in 1936 he wrote, produced and narrated 30 programs at CFRB. The CFRB programs were sponsored by Brown's Bread, which also ran a series of weekly newspaper advertisements in comic strip form — "Rainbow Ranch, featuring Cowboy Kean, Canada's Famous Cowboy Adventurer". The ads depicted Kean as a sage of the corral, using lively stories from his cowboy days as parables to highlight the hearty value of Brown's Rainbow Loaf.

Kean's appearances in print and on radio brought him fan mail, speaking engagements and, ironically, more exposure and celebrity than all of his film work. From time to time he took part in a newspaper stunt, dining on canned rattlesnake with the mayor of Toronto or riding a new zebra at the city zoo. To the Depression-era audiences, his nostalgic stories furnished a connection to the innocence and adventure of another era.

In 1934 Kean moved his family and horses to a farm at Bowmanville, Ontario. His association with the *Star* and *Star Weekly* ended in 1936. In the fall and winter of 1938 he broadcast "Sails and Saddles", his most elaborate radio series. It comprised 14 quarter-hour dramatizations of his own adventures and was aired weekly on the CBC from CBY Toronto. Kean wrote and narrated the series and joined the small cast to play himself and various character parts. In 1940 he tried unsuccessfully to secure a regular position with the CBC.

With the arrival of World War II, Kean sold the Bowmanville farm and moved back to Toronto, where he worked for tool-and-die plants. At the Sutton-Horsely Company in Leaside he was associate editor of *The Indicator*, a company magazine. Following the war he turned again to his love of horses; he photographed show jumping, rode with a hunt club and

The "Cowboy Kean" comic strip helped to sell Brown's Rainbow Bread in the 1930s.

published a short-lived equestrian magazine, *Hoofprints*. He remained active as a working photographer through his seventies, passing away suddenly in his darkroom one day in 1961.

In retrospect, Kean's life as a cowboy, his career in film, and his later work in print and radio can be viewed as a unified whole, expressing a lifelong love of the West and the outdoors. He was born and raised in the last decades of the Old West and witnessed some of its final bravado. As a young man he found an eventful and active life in the mountains and the valleys of southeastern B.C. Just as the pioneer aura of the West was beginning to fade, Kean took up a movie camera to record the adventurous life, patriotic spirit and rapid development of the West Coast. As a filmmaker, he strove to bring Canadians a glimpse of their own country. *Policing the Plains* was a refinement of that ideal; an attempt to authentically re-enact a story fundamental to Canadian history — a story which even then had been distorted and trivialized in dozens of Hollywood potboilers.

The ultimate significance of his last film — and of its producer — are pointed out by Vancouver filmmaker and film historian Colin Browne:

> The loss of *Policing the Plains* is particularly unfortunate because, probably more than any other feature motion picture made in western Canada, it represented the possibility of exploring and interpreting a unique Canadian institution through Canadian eyes. It also underlines the loneliness and frustration that accompany a director when he tries to do the same thing today. Kean appears to have worked with singular vision and enthusiasm long before people thought of film as a director's medium.

In 1967 a fire swept through a National Film Board storage facility near Kirkland, Quebec, destroying millions of feet of unique nitrate film footage. This catastrophic fire was a key impetus for the creation of a national film archive in Canada. Some evidence suggests that one film can at Kirkland contained a solitary reel of *Policing the Plains*.

Few of Kean's lesser films survive, and his role in Canadian film history is understood only by the archivists of the documentary cinema. In the latter half of his life he enjoyed some renown as a writer, broadcaster and folk celebrity, rather than as a filmmaker. Until recently the facts of his earlier life were virtually unknown. In light of his experiences and his accomplishments, we are left to wonder why he is not better remembered. In another time or place, he might well have become a legend. ♦

Dennis J. Duffy is the author of "Camera West: British Columbia on Film, 1941-1965" (1986) and is currently writing a biography of A. D. Kean. David Mattison is an award-winning photographic historian of Western Canada.

Scurvy at York

A Dread Affliction Lingered at the Bay

By JODY F. DECKER

As winter approached, the men of the Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory knew that the danger of scurvy loomed ahead, especially if there was a failure in procuring "country provisions" over the months ahead. If enough fresh venison, ducks, partridges, rabbits, grouse, ptarmigan, and fish were obtained, the threat of this dreaded disease was diminished. Despite efforts by the Company, scurvy was never eradicated from York Factory, and, in fact, it mysteriously reappeared at that post with a vengeance in the middle of the nineteenth century at a time when the disease was relatively well understood and easily controlled.

Other HBC posts reported only isolated outbreaks of the disease. The explanations for this enigma at York are complex, but the rich diversity of the HBC records permits some solutions to this puzzle. These records include: the daily post journals, the sole surviving medical journals for the years 1846-1852, the provision books which contain the daily food record of standard rations and the amounts of imported and locally obtained food, and the invoice books of shipments and volumes to York. From these records, the incidence of scurvy at York Factory and its possible causes can be examined.

Unlike most animals, humans do not synthesize Vitamin C in their bodies; they are dependent on food as the source of the vitamin. This vitamin is essential in the human body for wound healing, production of collagen which aids in strengthening bones, teeth, skin, blood-vessel walls, and other body parts, and for resistance against infections. Depletion of Vitamin C results in scurvy. To prevent the disease, a daily minimum requirement of approximately 10 milligrams of Vitamin C is necessary, while 30 milligrams is recommended as the level sufficient to replace the amount of ascorbic acid metabolized daily.

The following vivid description of scurvy by Joseph Colen, the Chief Factor at York Factory in April of 1789, graphically illustrates how ravaging the disease could be:

> The scurvy rages with violence and some Men are so Bad it is with difficulty they are removed from their beds — Scarcely one person at this place but is tainted with this disorder — and It is almost impossible to describe the Malady that rages amongst us which is attended with a kind of putrification the Teeth loosen Gums swell, A quantity of loose dark flesh is cut off daily from the afflicted before they can take any kind of Subsistance. The Patients legs swell which are much discoloured they are disabled and contracted in their limbs as to render them objects of comisseration. Their breath is so offensive as to be almost unbearable; and a lowness of spirits attends the whole afflicted . . .

The signs and symptoms that Colen described were those of advanced scurvy. The onset of this disease was however, insidious. The first symptoms were preceded by a period of vague complaints — general lassitude, weakness, irritability, and weight loss. The HBC men were well aware of the first symptoms; swelling of the arms and legs, bruises on the lower extremities, and wounds that would not heal. They were terrified of the progression of the disease. Weakened blood vessels ultimately led to bleeding into the joints, which became heated, painful, swollen, and debilitated. The limbs eventually contracted and the sufferer was unable to walk — sometimes permanently. The gums became swollen and spongy, and bled easily. Soon the teeth

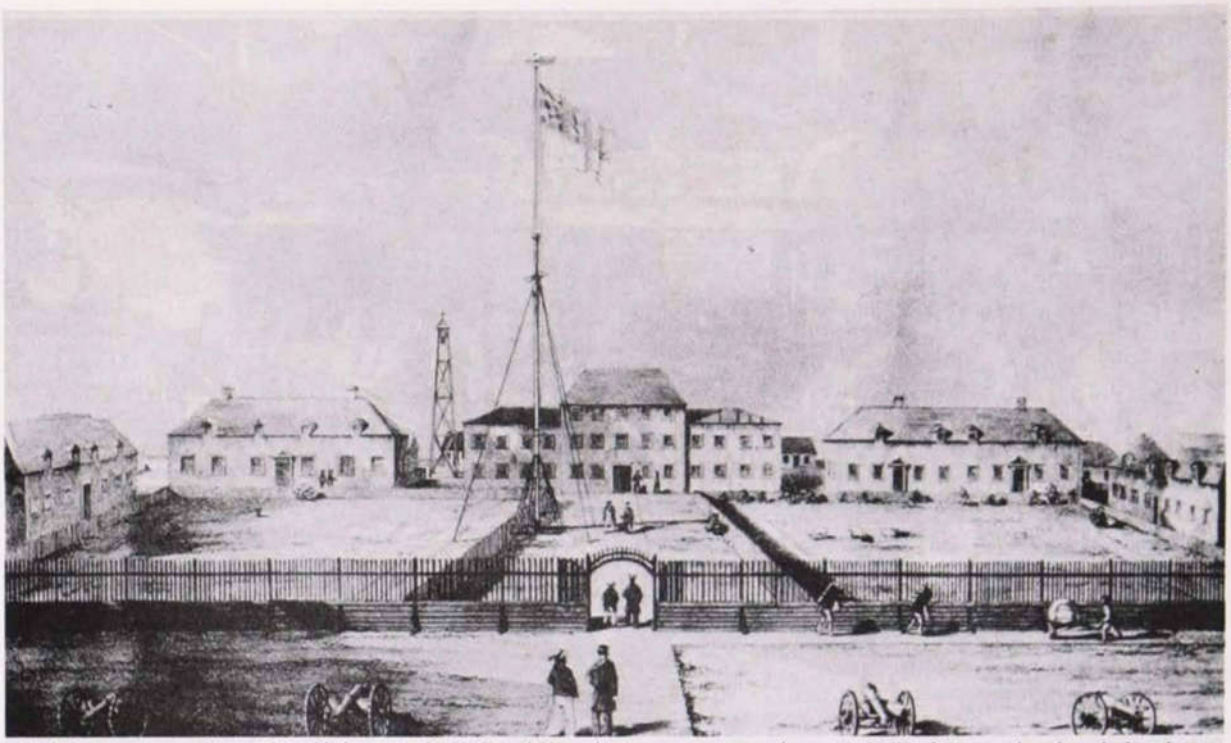
Cambridge University Library

A Victorian print of activities in an English factory that bottled lime juice.

loosened and fell out. Unable to eat, and without antiscorbutics, the victim inevitably died. Because a lack of Vitamin C leads to a failure of the body to synthesize collagen, death occurred most often from the bursting of a major blood vessel. Fevers, infections, and stress, combined to deplete tissue stores of the vitamin, and likely hastened the victim's end.

Although scurvy had been first described at the time of the Crusades in the thirteenth century, it was not until the early twentieth century that the cause of the disease was clearly recognized as a dietary deficiency. The therapeutic value of citrus fruits as a cure for the disease had been recognized for centuries before this time, however, but even after James Lind's famous therapeutic tests in 1753 in which he demonstrated the efficacy of curing scurvy with citrus juice, it took another 40 years before the Royal Navy adopted his suggestions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, citrus juice was being used universally as a preventive for scurvy, but subsequent unexplained outbreaks of the disease, especially in the second half of that century, diverted scientists of the time away from the notion of scurvy as a deficiency disease, toward other explanations such as chemical imbalances. These unexplained outbreaks were partially due to a confusion over limes and lemons. As early as 1845, it had been suggested to the British Admiralty that the British West Indian lime could be used as an antiscorbutic in place of the Mediterranean lemon, and over the next decade this substitution began. Lime juice is now known to have, at best, one-half of the Vitamin C content of lemon or orange juice. The changeover of citrus fruits was a good marketing strategy for the British, but the therapeutic value of the substitution was unknown at the time. Adding to the complexity of this issue is the fact that orange, lime, and lemon juice were indiscriminately referred to as "lime juice" by the Royal Navy. This fact is substantiated in the case of York Factory where the medical records at that post only indicated issuances of "lime" juice, whereas the provision books for that post indicate both lime and orange juice were regularly sent over from Britain. It would never have occurred to the HBC men that the more acidic lime would actually be a less potent antiscorbutic than the lemon or the orange.

In light of contemporary findings, the therapeutic value of the citrus juices in the nineteenth century must be regarded with some skepticism, as Vitamin C is very easily destroyed by a variety of factors such as temperature, humidity, storage, and handling. Modern analysis has shown that 100 grams (approximately equal to a small, filled wine glass) of fresh lemon or orange juice contains approximately 45-50 milligrams of ascorbic acid, whereas fresh lime juice contains only one-half that amount. As well, different varieties of a citrus fruit such as an orange contained varying



Hudson's Bay Company

York Factory was a substantial establishment in the 1840s and 50s and yet scurvy mysteriously persisted. This depiction, thought to be based on a sketch made by Chief Trader Alexander Hunter Murray, shows the HBC trading and supply centre as it was in 1853.

amounts of ascorbic acid. In order to maximize the vitamin content, all fruits had to be picked at maturity and in the best physical condition. If they were picked before maturity, or badly bruised, the vitamin content was lowered. The technique used in the preparation of the citrus concentrate was critical. Vitamin C is inactivated with pickling, salting, curing, fermenting, heating, prolonged exposure to air and sunlight, exposure to an alkaline solution such as baking soda in food, and exposure to metals such as copper or brass, and, to a lesser extent, iron.

James Lind's original recommendations for prevention of scurvy from his 1753 therapeutic tests, specifically called for the evaporation of the citrus juice in a clean, well-glazed, open earthen vessel for several hours. The process he advocated of boiling and evaporating citrus fruits in order to concentrate their volumes would have resulted in the loss of at least one-half the original Vitamin C content. This being the case, if 5 pounds of lemons were boiled down to 3 ounces according to Lind's method, then the resultant concentrate would have contained approximately 260 milligrams of Vitamin C. Lime juice would have contained one-half that amount. In either case, the usual administered dosage of 3-4 ounces of juice per day, would have delivered, by itself, well over the daily recommended requirement of Vitamin C. The records give no indication whether or not the juices were concentrated.

It is known, from the lists of trading goods, that copper pots were sent over from Europe and were probably used by the cooks. If the concentrating process was done in a copper pot, or if the juice had been decanted and then pumped from container to container in copper tubing (which is thought to have been the case), the vitamin content would have been negligible. Subsequent storage of the juice would have resulted in further loss of the vitamin through time. Potatoes, for instance, stored at lower temperatures will lose one-half their Vitamin C content over a period of 6 months. Generally, the rate of loss of ascorbic acid through time is dependent on temperature fluctuations and relative humidity, and is therefore difficult to measure.

Since its inception in 1670, the HBC had shown concern about scurvy, and had sent over English provisions such as salted meat, dry goods, grains, and seeds for gardening to supplement the "country provisions". Lime juice was sent to the Bay as early as 1684, potatoes were being harvested at York in the 1770s, and vegetables such as radishes, turnips, and lettuce were grown with limited success in what one of the traders referred to as a "small spot of ground called, by courtesy, a garden". When scurvy appeared at the Factory, the men were issued "fresh provisions", and anywhere from 3-4 ounces to a wine glass of lime juice, 3-4 times per day, depending on the surgeon on duty at the time.

The ascorbic acid content of the foods eaten at York varied considerably. One twenty gallon cask of orange juice and one 60 gallon cask of lime juice were shipped over most years from Britain to York. They were the best known and most highly valued antiscorbutics in the nineteenth century. Leafy green vegetables, cabbage, and fruits such as cranberries, wild gooseberries, and particularly black currants, which contained approximately 210 milligrams/100 grams, were also rich in Vitamin C. Spruce beer, an antiscorbutic decoction made from the green leaf buds of fir trees, had been the mainstay at the HBC posts since their inception, but its effectiveness depended on the freshness of the buds and on how long they were boiled. Meat, in a raw or lightly cooked state, contained enough of the vitamin to ward off scurvy. Potatoes, baked, and to a lesser extent boiled, eaten as a daily staple, would also have protected the men from scurvy. Other foods eaten by the HBC men, such as sauerkraut, fresh onions, and turnips, also contained moderate amounts of Vitamin C. (10, 15, and 35 milligrams/100 grams respectively). Foods they consumed which contained essentially none of the vitamin included sugar, molasses, bread, rice, vinegar, coffee, potable soup (dried animal entrails), cheese, oatmeal, salted meat, butter, well-cooked fish or meat, all mature dry seeds such as wheat or corn, and legumes such as peas and beans. The highly valued "fresh provisions" of fish, fowl, and meat contained little or no ascorbic acid. Whitefish and ptarmigan contained approximately 6 milligrams/100 grams of ascorbic acid, but caribou, deer, and rabbit were devoid of the vitamin.

It was only after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 when the Bay and its environs were returned to the British, that York became a pre-eminent trading post along the Bay. When the HBC began to establish posts inland in the Western interior in 1774, York Factory became the primary supply depot, where goods came in from Europe, were sent to Europe, or were manufactured right at the post. After the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, York Factory became the headquarters for the vast Northern Department. Consequently, the post always had a relatively larger complement of men than most of the other HBC posts. The usual number of around 50 officers and men would increase over the summer months when the Indians came to the post to trade and the fur brigades returned with their goods from the interior. The annual arrival of the boat from Europe in late August or early September brought in a new complement of HBC servants and officers, who waited at York until they were able to take up their new assignments inland. An additional seasonal influx of people occurred with the establishment of an agricultural settlement at Red River in 1812. Settlers bound for that colony (280 people between 1812 and 1815),

Wellcome Institute Library, London

Portrait of the Scottish physician James Lind (1716-94) holding his celebrated "Treatise of the Scurvy".

arrived via York Factory. In 1848, British army pensioners were brought over with their families to defend the colony, and York's usual complement swelled to a record 1,000 people in the first part of August. Supplying food for this busy post, as well as assuring that one year's emergency rations remained on hand, put a constant drain on provisions. An already overtaxed provision stock, combined with seasonal shortages of "country provisions", could spell disaster for the post, and both HBC men and their families, as well as the natives who worked for the Company, would suffer.

Robert Ballantyne, an HBC fur trader posted at York Factory in 1843, described that post as "a monstrous blot on a swampy spot, with a partial view of the frozen sea". Mosquitoes and flies in the summer and intense cold in the winter "render the country unbearable", and the growing season was too short for grain and most vegetables. The immense swamp around the post was alive with ducks and geese in the spring and fall, and ptarmigan in the winter. The tree line had receded miles inland from this swamp due to the relentless demand for firewood and timber. It was into these woods that the traders sent the Indian women and children to gather cranberries, wild gooseberries, and wild red and black currants "for the Scorbutics which is the ease with most of us", as Humphrey Martin wrote in 1783. Either as a preserve or mixed in

with pemmican, fresh berries were recognized by the men as an integral ingredient in their diets. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the area around York Factory had not only been depleted of trees, but also of valuable furs. By the 1820s, winter food shortages had become common, and there was an increasing dependence on fish, fowl, and small game. In mild winters when the hunters were unable to track animals, or in seasons when small game, especially rabbits, were in the downswing of their rhythmic cycles, or had been depopulated from disease, over-trapping, or climatic influences, the necessary supply of "country provisions" dwindled, and the threat of scurvy escalated.

Two men died of scurvy in 1784 at York as an indirect result of the smallpox epidemic that struck that post in 1782-3. The epidemic had carried off many of the native men hired as hunters by the HBC. A shortage of hunters to procure "country provisions", combined with a shortage of partridges, contributed to the serious outbreak of scurvy that year. Such was the case as well in 1788-89 when there was almost a total disappearance of partridges and rabbits and the men were forced to live on salted provisions. This violent outbreak of scurvy, in large part due to a complete failure of "country provisions", affected both natives and traders well into July of that year. The sole cause was thought to be "the putrid unsound state of the salted provisions from England" upon which the men had relied for their survival. Joseph Colen reported that this outbreak was so serious that one of his officers acquired scurvy — "the first and only instance I have seen of an officer being afflicted", and the only instance reported in the post journals in subsequent years at York Factory. The officers' diets usually consisted of fresh foods and very little salted geese or meat, and oatmeal, whereas the labouring servants depended heavily on those prepared foods, which were, of course, devoid of Vitamin C. The "country provisions" which were in short supply during these years of scurvy outbreaks, were also almost entirely devoid of Vitamin C.

During the first third of the nineteenth century the number of yearly cases of scurvy declined considerably. The British navy had by now adopted Lind's recommendation of citrus fruits as antiscorbutics, and casks of orange and lime were regularly sent over from Europe. If scurvy appeared, as it did in the winter of 1835, then the men's regular weekly rations were changed to "only two days salt provisions, the remainder being fish, partridges, rabbits, grain, and spruce beer". Daily tablespoons (approximately 46 milligrams of Vitamin C if it was concentrated lemon juice) of a citrus juice were also part of the standard rations. In one month on this "fresh diet with the usual remedies", all symptoms of scurvy had disappeared. The following year, Hargrave, the Chief Factor at York, boasted that "even the slightest symptom of scurvy have not yet shewn themselves", and defended the fact that salt provisions "could scarcely be the principal cause of the disease at this Place as the present Rations, consist of a large portion of that food as usual, say 3 days in the week". He was partially wrong, as salted meat contained almost no Vitamin C. But the post journal of 1836 gave no indication of any food shortages and three days of salted provisions would not be deleterious when enough fresh meat and fowl were available.

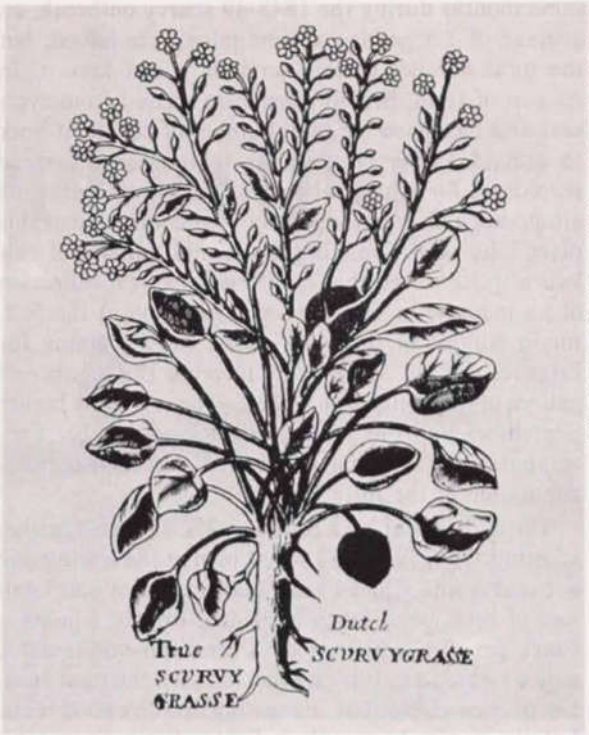
Again in 1841, deer and rabbits were scarce, and by March of that year scurvy made its expected appearance at York. Generally in the 1840s, the annual number of cases of scurvy amounted to the "usual 8-10", as Dr. Smellie of York had written in his medical journal of 1849. He was puzzled that year because York had had the biggest outbreak of scurvy on record at that post. It had lasted the entire 12 months of the year, and "scarcely one individual of the labouring servants in the establishment has been exempted", although there is no indication from the records that anyone had died. He questioned why scurvy broke out that particular year, and why it was in general so prevalent at York Factory since the diet, the climate, and the habits of the people were the same at Severn and Churchill where they had had only rare cases of scurvy. He added that there had been "a deficiency of fresh provisions and a total want of cranberries" last season, and that cranberries were the only vegetable preserve in the men's rations. But surely the difference between fresh provisions and salted provisions as a prophylactic against scurvy is of little consequence, he said, when antiscorbutics such as lime juice could be obtained. He concluded that the likely contributing factors for this epidemic were a concomitant outbreak of scurvy in 1848 in Britain, and the fact that there was "excessive indulgence in tea by the servants". Again, despite the overall havoc this scurvy outbreak caused at York, not one of the officers was reportedly affected with this disease of the labouring classes.

Explanations for the 1848-49 outbreak of scurvy at York were beyond Dr. Smellie's knowledge of the disease at that time. He was correct regarding the importance of the loss of cranberries. Usually, 10-20 bushels were collected each year, and in 1849 the HBC men were unable to "procure a single gallon". What Dr. Smellie did not realize, was that the total failure of the potato crop that particular year was just as serious a loss. Kenneth Carpenter, in his book *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C*, maintained that potatoes, eaten regularly each day as a cheap staple food, in large part kept the population of Northern Europe free from scurvy before 1800. He also argued that the outbreak of scurvy in 1848 in Britain that Dr. Smellie thought might be related to the outbreak at York, was due to the Great Potato Famine in Britain,

Ireland, France, and Belgium from 1845-48. The loss of cranberries, potatoes, and a shortage of small game animals, all contributed to the outbreak at York in 1848-49. There was however, an additional factor which may have contributed to this outbreak; the mid-nineteenth century changeover from lemon to lime juice, which, according to Carpenter, had universal repercussions.

For centuries, scurvy had been the curse of sailors, soldiers, and adventurers around the world, all of whom depended on stored provisions for prolonged periods of time. Not until the first half of the nineteenth century was the value of lemon juice as an antiscorbutic universally recognized, and the subsequent incidence of scurvy dramatically decreased. It was unthinkable that the disease could ever become the killer it had been, but in the mid-nineteenth century the power of the disease was again realized. Thousands died in the California and Klondike gold rushes, and in the Crimean War of 1854-56. Once again, the effectiveness of citrus juices were questioned and those people who were faced with an unexplainable resurgence of scurvy, such as Dr. Smellie at York Factory in 1849, began grasping for causes — too much tea-drinking he thought, or a link to an outbreak in Britain.

The post journals from other Hudson Bay posts such as Churchill, and inland posts such as Cumberland and Edmonton, rarely mention the presence of scurvy in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries at those establishments. The likely explanation for this is that in contrast to the Canadian Shield area around York, which was hunted out of larger game by the turn of the nineteenth century, the parkland and grassland areas inland from the Bay had a much greater abundance and diversity of food resources, and shortages of "country provisions" at the inland posts were relatively rare. In the case of Churchill, less then 8 men had to live off the land around that post, and cranberries were very abundant there. The outbreaks of scurvy at York Factory before the middle of the nineteenth century were blamed by the factors at York on the shortage of "country provisions". Unless this wild meat was eaten in great quantities and in a raw or lightly cooked state, which is not known, it would contribute at best, only a few milligrams of Vitamin C. The fact that there was a greater dependence on fish and fowl during this time was actually advantageous. Both whitefish, which was always abundant, and ptarmigan, contained 6 milligrams of Vitamin C, whereas most wild meat, (with the exception of the liver), like English salted provisions, contained almost no Vitamin C. Scurvy was always worse in the spring months when supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables were low, and old potatoes stored since the fall had lost most of their vitamin value. Consequently, it was probably a combination of small amounts of Vitamin C in fish and fowl, along with citrus juices and spruce beer, which cured most scurvy outbreaks before the mid-nineteenth century.



William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California

The title page of the English edition of Moellenbrok's seventeenth-century book on the virtues of scurvy grass and his illustration of the plant.

When the Royal Navy ordered daily rations of lime juice for their sailors in 1793, they did not adhere to Lind's original recommendation of boiling the fruit to a syrup. The casks of orange and lime juice sent to York were therefore not likely concentrated. The sole surviving medical journals for the years 1846-1852, give us more insight into the efficacy of citrus juices given out at York, and the number of men affected. From the provision books for the same years as the available medical journals, it was possible to compute the number of gallons of lime juice issued to the servants, per month, at York Factory. There is no mention in any of these sources that women, children, or officers contracted scurvy during this time. The lists of servants in the Northern Department in 1851-52, indicate that 44 men were stationed at York Factory. This number would remain relatively constant during the winter months, but would fluctuate in the summer and early fall when the brigades returned from inland. Dr. Smellie said that out of the 40-plus men wintering at York, he usually had 8-10 cases of scurvy per year. With the exception of 1848-49, there would have been approximately 1.5 gallons per month of lime juice issued to these 8-10 servants from October to May. For the

same months during the 1848-49 scurvy outbreak, an average of 3.5 gallons of lime juice were issued, but the total number of sick servants is not known. In August of 1848, British pensioners arrived from overseas and increased the total number of people at York to around 1,000. Dr. Smellie treated one of these pensioners for scurvy, although "the disease presents altogether a different type from that contracted at this place", he said. The relatively higher number of gallons of juice issued that month was likely a reflection of an increase in the overseas population at the fort, for in August of the other years, the in-coming fur brigades did not appreciably increase the number of gallons of lime juice being issued. The relatively higher September totals in 1848, as compared to other Septembers, can also be attributed to the increased population at the fort.

The outbreak at York in 1848-49 is worthy of further scrutiny. On 6 January 1849, 4 men at the sawing tent got scurvy and Chief Factor Hargrave sent out 3 gallons of lime juice, "each individual to take 1 ounce 4 times per day". Fifteen days later, an additional 2 gallons were sent. It is impossible to tell the total number of men affected at the sawing and firewood tents, but the medical journals indicate that between this outbreak in January until the end of August when Dr. Smellie was replaced by Dr. Wills, a total of 20 new cases of scurvy were treated. Out of these 20 new cases, 9 cases were treated at least twice. It is impossible to determine if lime juice was taken every day by those men who were repeats, but it is evident that all else being equal, the lime juice was not curative in almost half of the total cases. Scurvy did not reappear again until December of 1849. Dr. Wills' treatment consisted of a wine glass of lime juice 3 times per day, which had almost the same value as Dr. Smellie's dose of 3-4 ounces, 3 times per day. Unfortunately, the medical journals are non-existent from 1852 onward, and it is only possible to speculate that during the years 1852-54, when greater than average amounts of lime juice were being issued all year around, that the juice itself was ineffective.

The effectiveness of the citrus juices issued during the 1848-49 outbreak may have been reduced for a variety of reasons. The substitution of lime for lemon juice may have taken place by that time, but it is impossible to know as both Dr. Smellie and Dr. Wills referred to their antiscorbutic as simply "lime juice". Not only may the "lime" juice at York have contained less Vitamin C than it had in the past, but its potency may also have been reduced in the preparation technique employed, and from prolonged storage. The invoice books indicate that the citrus juices were placed on board HBC ships bound for Hudson Bay in late May or early June. The ships arrived 3-4 months later at the Bay. The juices would customarily be stored in the provision sheds until they were needed, which meant a year or more could have elapsed from the time when they were originally prepared for shipment in Britain to when they were used at the post. Despite their knowledge of antiscorbutic remedies, all the cards were stacked against the HBC men in the 1848-49 outbreak of scurvy. Their usual remedies either failed completely, or had reduced value, their normal dietary routine had been altered, and many of the men contracted an influenza-like disease prevalent at York at that time. The disease may have been an added stressor for many individuals who may have depleted normal body stores of Vitamin C.

For the sawers, wood cutters and other labouring servants posted at York Factory, the disease was an omnipresent occupational hazard. Very few deaths occurred and on only rare occasions did the disease totally cripple the day-to-day operations at the post. Here, as in other areas of the world, the incidence of scurvy had decreased considerably in the first half of the nineteenth century. If the normal dietary routine of the trader was not broken and fresh food was available, then normal body reserves of Vitamin C would have prevented scurvy. In lean years when scurvy did occur, it was usually curtailed with spruce beer, citrus juice, and a fresher diet. The efficacy of these remedies for each episode of scurvy depended on how each remedy was prepared and ingested, and on individual body stores of the vitamin in the liver. This may account for the fact that some traders seemed immune to the disorder in spite of the fact that all their co-workers had succumbed. Those traders who had acquired liver damage from too much alcohol consumption, were much more prone to scurvy than teetotallers. With such an overall failure of fresh provisions as had occurred in 1848-49, it was very likely that additional nutritional deficiencies would also have arisen at the same time and presented a confusing array of signs and symptoms, as in the case of the British pensioners whom Dr. Smellie said had a "different type of scurvy". The classic signs and symptoms of scurvy may have been masked or augmented by other malnutrition disorders.

How mysterious and frightening this disease must have seemed to them at this time and at this place, particularly when a cure had been found, but had subsequently failed. Scurvy had made a dramatic impact on the outcome of history, both before and after appropriate remedies were adopted. ◆

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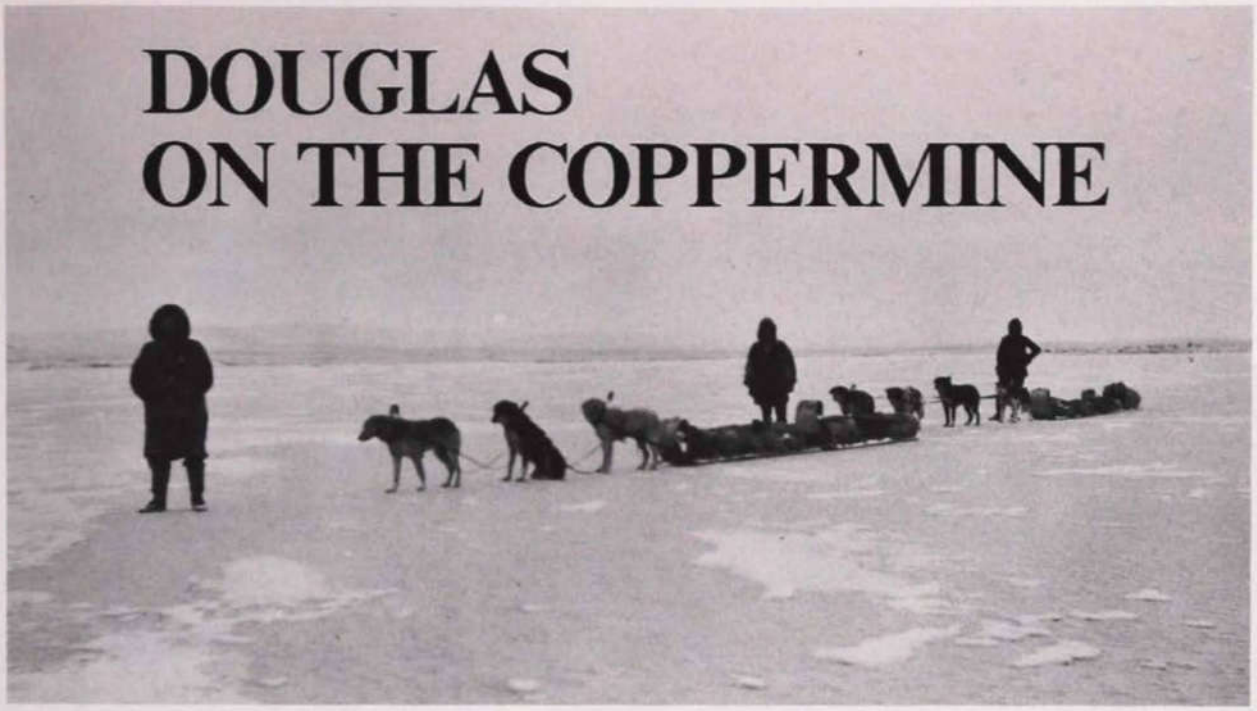
DOUGLAS ON THE COPPERMINE



By Enid Mallory

The Coppermine River flowing out of the Barren Lands into the Arctic Ocean is a favourite route for wilderness canoeists. They fly in to Samuel Hearne's legendary river, launch canoes and take colour slides or video films of the moving river and the flowers in bloom on the barrens.

George Douglas photographed only in black-and-white. He was there in 1911, twenty-five years before the Kodak company revolutionized photography with its colour transparency film, but these photos have an impact of discovery which the modern wilderness photographer is unlikely to achieve. Some of the Inuit who stand before his camera have never seen a white man, a camera, a pencil or a comb.

Douglas was a contemporary of Vilhjalmur Stefansson who made contact with the Inuit of Victoria Island and Coronation Gulf in 1910 by following the coastline east from the Mackenzie delta. But he would not reach civilization until 1912 to give the press his newly-discovered "Copper Eskimos", and his claim that they looked European-like. A reporter would dub them "Blond Eskimos" and they — as well as Vilhjalmur Stefansson — would become front page news.

But all this excitement is still in the future as Douglas offers chocolate to a badly-frightened Inuit who is hunting alone when Douglas and his partner come upon him. The man is terrified at first; his arms, which he holds up in a gesture of peace, are trembling with fright. Douglas and Sandberg manage to reassure him and watch his doubt change to delight as he chews a piece of chocolate. They persuade him by gestures to come back to camp and help them portage baggage to the Dismal Lakes. He starts back but soon lags behind them farther and farther and finally makes a bee-line to his own camp where he gathers his goods and disappears to the north.

George Douglas, a mining engineer from Lakefield, Ontario, worked in Arizona and New Mexico for his cousin, James Douglas, of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company. When his cousin "half in jest" offered to grubstake him on an exploration of Samuel Hearne's alleged copper find on the Coppermine River, he jumped at the chance.

The trip would take a year and a half. In May of 1911 with his brother Lionel (Lion), an officer on leave from Canadian Pacific Steamships, and August Sandberg, a Swedish geologist, he left Edmonton in a convoy of wagons, to reach Athabaska Landing and begin the long river journey by canoe. Then, using Hudson's Bay Company scows and the *Mackenzie River* steamer, they reached Fort Norman at the end of July. Here the party hired Bear Lake Indians to help track a heavy York boat loaded with three and a half tons of supplies up the swift Bear River to Great Bear Lake.

Previous page: The Douglas party travels with the legendary John Hornby on the barrens east of Great Bear Lake, autumn 1911. Above: The steamer "Mackenzie River" at Fort Norman.

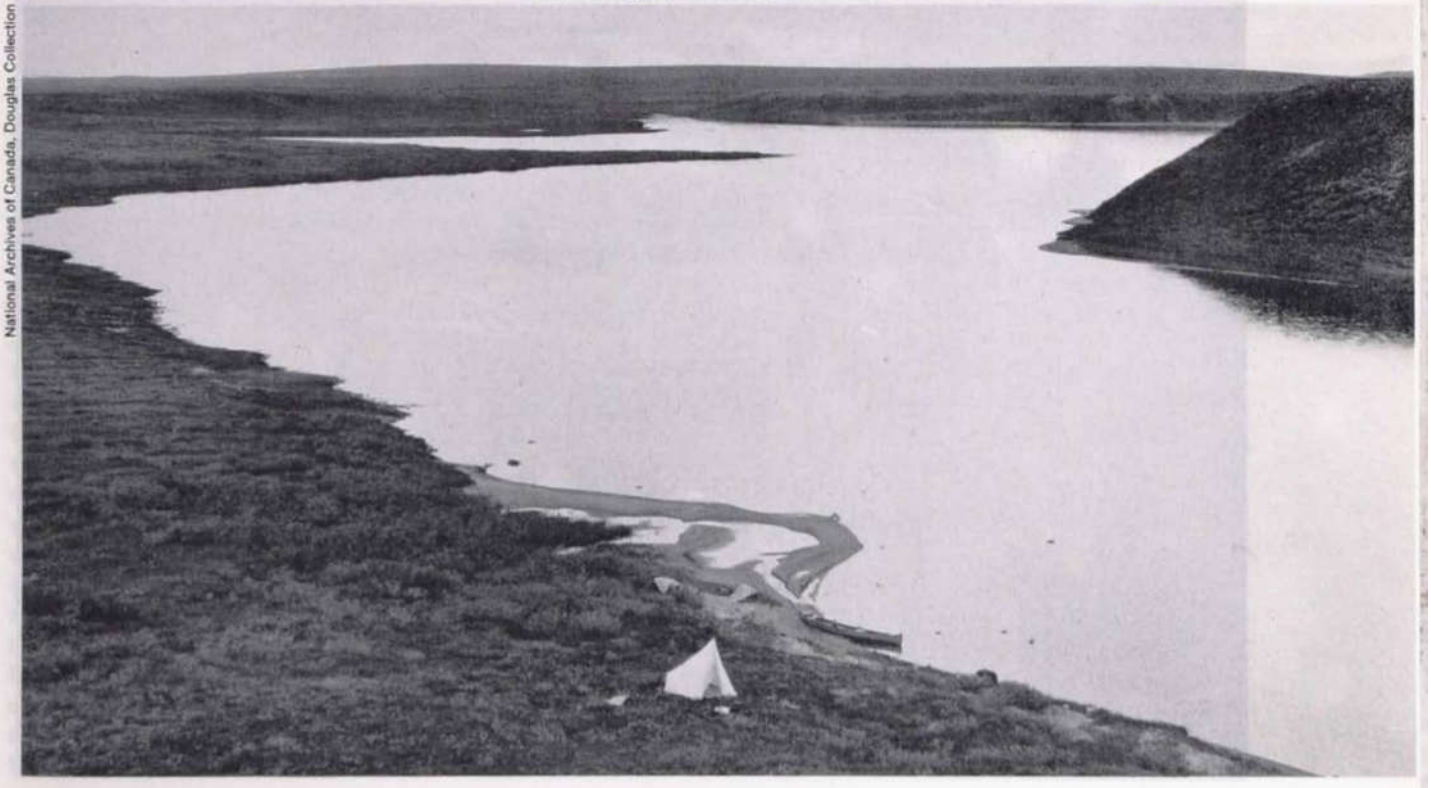
The ruins of old Fort Confidence at the east end of Great Bear Lake, showing the Douglas camp and an unidentified member of the party.

National Archives of Canada, Douglas Collection

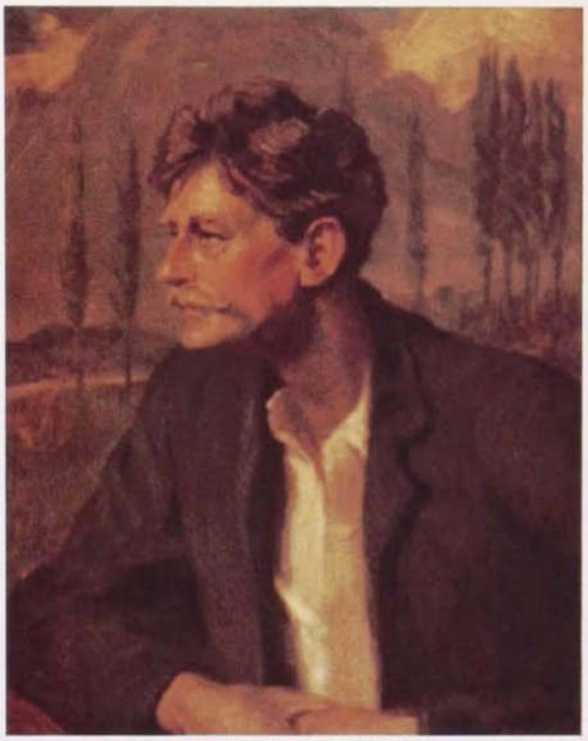
National Archives of Canada, Douglas Collection

Douglas met this family near the mouth of the Coppermine River. He found them "highly civilized and cultivated people".

Camp at the first narrows on the Dismal Lakes.



National Archives of Canada, Douglas Collection



Portrait of Douglas by Sir Wyly Grier.

Along with abundant food supplies, two canoes, tents, ammunition, instruments and general survival gear, Douglas carried the latest Kodak cameras, tripods, developing tanks and two yards of sateen (fine woven cotton) with which to cover his camera when composing and focusing his shots.

With Lion in charge, they sailed the 312 kilometre length of the great cold lake. A storm caught them in the middle of the lake and Lion said afterward that he had expected the whole side of the boat to give way at any moment. They reached the Dease River at the east end of Great Bear Lake after eight days "at sea". Here they would winter.

While Lion built the cabin which would protect them from the fierce Arctic cold, George and Sandberg made an exploratory trip to the Coppermine River. It was on this journey that the two men came upon their first frightened Inuit hunter. Three days later, they came upon a cache at the narrows between the first two Dismal Lakes. There was a kayak held down with rocks, and fur clothing and various objects lying about. Douglas left a few needles and files and added a piece of milk chocolate as his signature.

On their return from sighting the Coppermine, they collected a cache of their own which had been left on a cross arm between two small trees. Douglas noticed

Some of the cameras Douglas took with him in 1911.

National Archives of Canada, Douglas Collection

Two Inuit hunters share a meal with the Douglas party. The bacon is being cooked by Harry, a Loucheaux Indian boy.

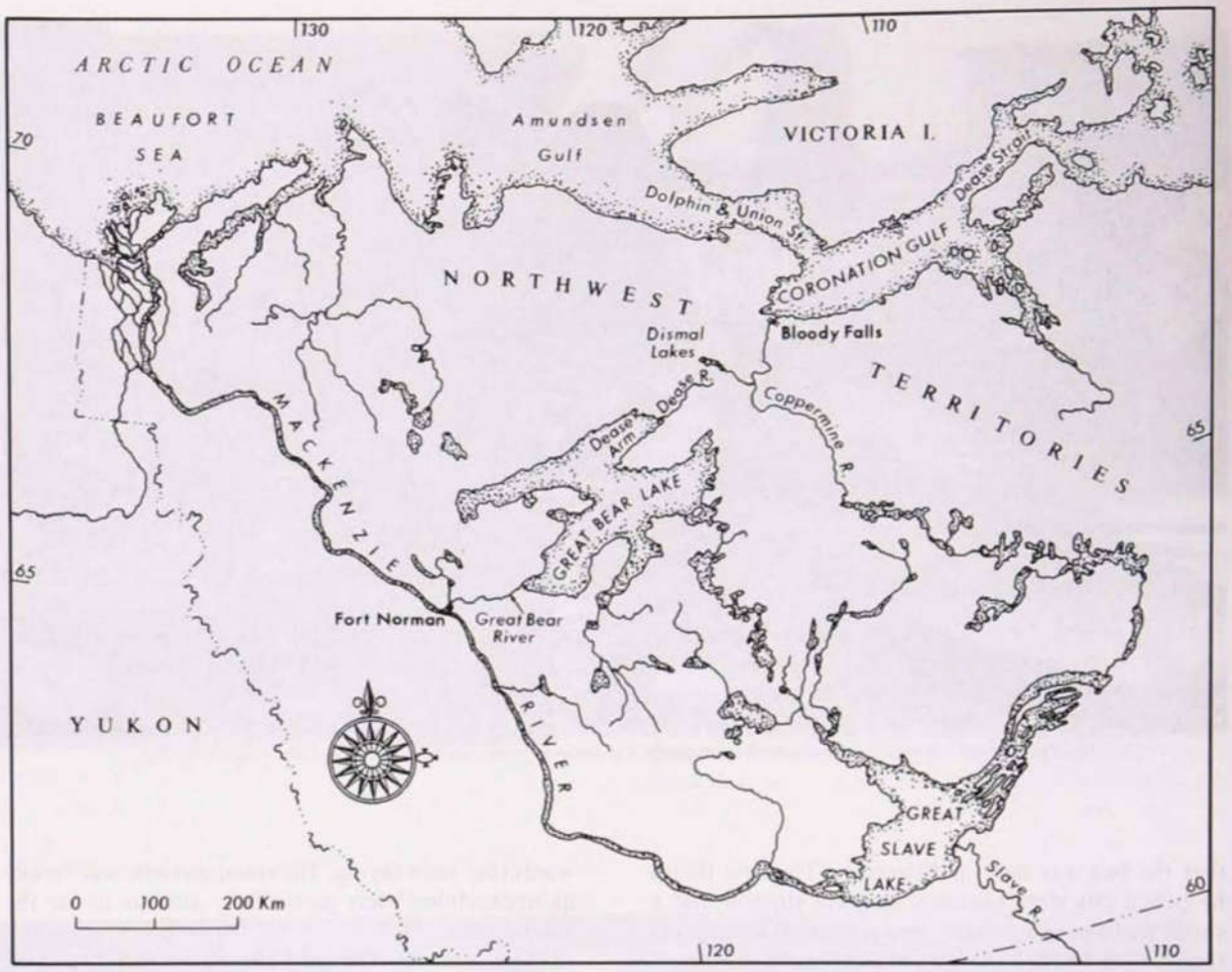
that the bag was tied up differently. The first things he pulled out were beautiful sealskin slippers and a small sealskin coat, then some arrows with copper-tipped bone heads and some objects made of ivory.

When the long winter ended, they headed for the Coppermine again. At Bloody Falls they came upon men spearing salmon. These men showed no fear of the white men and the two parties were able to carry on a conversation without words. The hunters were very good at mime; "the representation they gave of a man pestered by mosquitoes, slapping his face and neck, was extremely realistic."

The Douglas party followed the Coppermine to Coronation Gulf where they carried their Canadian Red Ensign flag out onto the ice of the Arctic Sea. Then, with the days already shortening, they turned their faces toward home. About three miles from the sea they came upon a camp of Inuit people and were welcomed warmly. These people had tin pots and a sheet-metal trough indicating contact with outsiders, however indirect. This family group made a lasting impression on Douglas. "They had the same easy manners and the same well-bred ways usual with all people of culture", he recalled. They were intrigued by the book in which he had a few Inuit words, and would crowd around it and "listen as though they expected to hear something from it". They were also delighted by the pencil with which Douglas tried to write down words they were saying. The eldest girl who was "really quite charming" was particularly anxious to use the magic pencil.

Later, near the Dismal Lakes, Lion met two more Inuit hunters and brought them back to camp. George then accompanied the men back to their camp to see and photograph not only the people but their caribou skin tent, soapstone pots and seal blubber fire, skin clothing, bows and spears and kayak frames. Not all of these shots turned out well: "It was about 10 P.M. when I was at their camp; the sun seemed so bright to me that I was quite misled when taking some pictures and under-exposed them badly". But enough of his shots succeeded to shine a wonderful light into a way of life just about to disappear. The pictures also capture the facial expressions of a very lively people, animated and excited to have discovered the friendly "strangers" and as yet totally unaware of the problems the strangers will bring.

One of his most intriguing photos shows the two Inuit hunters persuaded to share a meal with the Douglas party. They sit chewing bacon, a skeptical look on their faces. What adds drama to the tabloid is the boy on the left cooking the bacon. Harry is a Loucheaux Indian, traditional enemy of the Inuit. Here in the dreaded no-man's land between their two homelands, not far from Bloody Falls where Samuel Hearne's Indians massacred a large party of Inuit, Douglas may



be recording the first time Inuit and Loucheaux take food together.

The daily life of the Northern Indian was another subject which attracted the Douglas camera. The Bear Lakers (Loucheaux Indians) camped near them during the winter of 1911-12. Douglas lined up a number of the Indians he knew best in front of his cabin, caught them breaking camp to move to winter caribou grounds, photographed a small child on snowshoes.

His photos often include Harry the 14 year-old Loucheaux boy. Harry considered the Douglas party quite stupid when he first met them and hated their food when he travelled with them. He began to change his opinion when he saw Douglas make a canoe frame out of his toboggans. He said he thought white men could not make anything unless they had a hammer and nails. "I think he ended in even admiring us", Douglas wrote later to a friend.

During that long cold winter on the Dease the Douglas party had other neighbours. Near the mouth of the river was a cabin occupied by a well-educated, eccentric Englishman named John Hornby, already becoming a legend in the North for his ability to travel light and fast in the Barren Lands. With him was an Oblate priest, Father Rouvière.

Hornby would eventually starve to death east of Great Slave Lake on the Thelon River, taking with him two young men, one his 17-year-old cousin, Edward Christian. When Christian's diary was found in the stove, his tale of suffering and courage against a backdrop of hunger and cold became a classic of northern tragedy.

Father Rouvière was the priest sent to Christianize the Inuit after Hornby sent word of these people to the Oblate Fathers at Fort Good Hope. About the time that Douglas met his first Inuit, Rouvière also encountered Inuit near the Dismal Lakes. Douglas knew Rouvière that winter as a man totally dedicated to his mission, affable, liked and respected by all three of the Douglas party. A year later he and another priest would be murdered near Bloody Falls by the people he sought to save.

National Archives of Canada, Douglas Collection

On later trips, Douglas recorded a changing North. For this picture he lined up the airmen at McMurray in 1932. Included in the line-up are legendary pilots Walter Gilbert, Punch Dickens, Andy Cruikshank and Wop May.

Along with the people, Douglas recorded the land — stark, empty, seemingly endless, sometimes beautiful, often dismal. There is very little wildlife in the Douglas collection; the telephoto lens as we know it was not in use in his lifetime, light was scarce during the winter and a hunter needing fresh meat tended to carry the rifle, not the camera. There is a strong awareness of history; the ruins of Fort Franklin and Old Fort Confidence, the remains of the provision station established by Thomas Simpson in the spring of 1838, the "kopje-shaped hill" described in the writings of David Hanbury in 1902. In all of his images of arctic and sub-arctic space there is evidence of the photographer's strong attraction to the land. George Douglas was a man losing his heart to the North.

In 1914, two years after his return from the Coppermine, his book, *Lands Forlorn* was published. This beautifully illustrated record of the trip is now a rare collectors' item.

On later trips, in 1928, 1932, 1935 and 1938, Douglas was able to record the changing North. His photos often focused on the excitement of the airplane. In 1928 at McMurray he took photos of army planes engaged in topographic survey work. The advent of topographic mapping would dramatically change the North for prospectors and explorers like himself. That summer, with a geologist named Carl Lausen, Douglas travelled around 600 miles of the unexplored southeast shore of Great Slave Lake using two canoes with outboard motors. The black-and-white slides he took on this trip record a rough, wild country. "The extreme eastern end of the lake is a strange and bizarre country, full of contradictions and surprises, the latter mostly unpleasant", he wrote.

In 1932 he flew for the first time and his own excitement is reflected in his photographs. At the beginning of March he created a truly historic photo when he lined up "some of the best fliers in the world", under the wing of a plane at McMurray.

In 1938 he made his last trip north. He was no longer a young man and the North he had loved was not young either. It was referred to as the Old North and it was disappearing to the tune of airplane motor and mining machinery. In its place was the frenzied excitement of a gold rush at Yellowknife on the north shore of Great Slave Lake.

After 1938 Douglas retired to his farm on Lake Katchiwano near Lakefield where he kept up a far-reaching correspondence with other Northerners. Since his death in 1963 his photographs and correspondence have been in the care of his wife, Frances, whose own knowledge of the North is extensive. In 1964 Frances gave his library of Northern books, along with artifacts which he collected in the North, to Trent University in Peterborough. In the early 1980s she gave the Douglas papers and photographs to the National Archives in Ottawa.

The photographs in this collection are a national treasure. Their quality belies the conditions under which they were taken, a thousand miles from civilization, with equipment and film which had to be packed and portaged and protected from extreme climate, and often exposed in very low light. In these beautiful pictures we have a first-hand look at the Old North and a vivid record of the last primitive people to be discovered on the North American continent. ♦

Enid Mallory of Peterborough, Ontario, is working on a book about the life and travels of George Douglas.

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Where Poppies Blow

By Robert Saunders

WELCOME TO FLANDERS FIELDS
The First Canadian Battle of the Great War: Ypres, 1915

By Daniel G. Dancocks. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1988. 292 pp., illus. $24.95.

Archives of Ontario Acc. 11595

The remains of the Gothic Cloth Hall at Ypres, from "Welcome to Flanders Fields".

The story, at least in its broad outlines, is well known. On a beautiful spring afternoon towards the end of April 1915 a fierce German bombardment suddenly erupted on the Ypres salient. Shortly afterwards, a greyish-green mist was seen creeping along the ground from the German trenches. It was deadly chlorine gas released from buried cylinders and its effect was devastating. French troops, their lungs seared, fled, choking and dying back toward Ypres and a huge gap was torn open along the Allied front.

It was the Canadian troops, directly to the north of the French, who stood their ground and, amid appalling chaos and slaughter, drove the Germans back and closed the gap. This battle, generally known as Second Ypres, is the subject of Mr. Dancocks' book.

The title is intentionally ironic and conveys both the sense of high adventure which animated the Canadian troops on their first arrival in France and the horror of the futile butchery that was soon to be their lot. Second Ypres was, for those who survived, the end of innocence.

As John Keegan has pointed out, there are, broadly speaking, three ways of writing military history. The first is the method adopted by Thucydides in his history of the Peloponnesian Wars. This consists of a careful, sober analysis of strategy and tactics and it remains, in many ways, the most satisfactory and illuminating approach.

The second is the technique employed by Caesar in his commentaries on his exploits in Gaul and the emphasis here is on the colour and drama of the battles and the superlative skill of the victorious generals. This makes for stirring reading but leaves too many questions unanswered.

The third approach is modern and only fully came into its own in accounts of the First and Second World Wars. The generals are ignored and, instead, the battles and campaigns are told from the point of view of the private soldier and non-commissioned officers who, as often as not, are frightened, bewildered and wishing they were almost anywhere else except in sight of the enemy.

The great virtue of Mr. Dancocks as a military historian is that he successfully combines and meshes all three of these techniques. With the help of uncluttered but informative maps he gives a clear over-view of the battle while, at the same time, recreating for us the atmosphere of the fighting as it appeared to those taking part — the terrifying and constant noise, the panic and confusion and, always, death in its most violent and gruesome forms. One image stands out: a horse wild with fright, racing round and round in

circles and carrying on its back a corpse consisting of nothing but the legs and trunk of what was once a man.

Skilfully woven into the narrative are first-hand accounts by survivors of the battle. These are horrifyingly graphic. A captain recalled that at one point "our whole position was shelled and machine guns played on the house until the shots penetrated all three walls. At times men lay on beds and boxes while the machine gun bullets swept the floors. Again, they hugged the floor while the bullets passed over their heads".

A sergeant-major remembered how "the Germans clambered over their trenches and, with nervous little cries, grouped themselves for a charge . . . The grey-clad figures came forward, many deep. Then the regiment cut into them with a low fire. Every bullet must have gone home. The [German] masses broke once again and fled back".

The survivor of one futile and bloody Canadian counter-attack recounts that "when the battalion lined up, there were only about 300 who answered the roll call. A number of men broke down, some going off their heads".

They were brave men who fought at Second Ypres. Four Victoria Crosses were won in that battle and several regiments, including the 90th Winnipeg Rifles — the "little black devils" — added a proud chapter to their history. Few of the commanders, however, emerge with much credit. Mr. Dancocks' judgement on some of them is harsh. Even the illustrious Ferdinand Foch is raked over the coals for promising French counter-attacks that never materialized. His conduct, says Mr. Dancocks bluntly, "was nothing short of reprehensible". Other generals were little better. The British officers were complacent and arrogantly contemptuous of the Canadian "colonials". The Canadian commanders, for their part, were all inexperienced and some were simply incompetent as well.

Arthur Currie is one of the few to escape censure. He was the subject of a good, if perhaps a bit overly adulatory biography written a few years ago by Mr. Dancocks and in *Welcome to Flanders Fields* he is again praised for his courage, initiative and resourcefulness.

Mr. Dancocks concludes his book with a short account of how, during a lull in the fighting, John McCrae came to compose the poem that Mr. Dancocks rightly calls "a lasting legacy of the terrible battle in the Ypres salient in the spring of 1915". These were the famous lines beginning: *"In Flanders Fields the poppies blow/Between the crosses, row on row . . ."*

They were the epitaph for a whole generation.

Robert Saunders is a Winnipeg writer with a special interest in military history.

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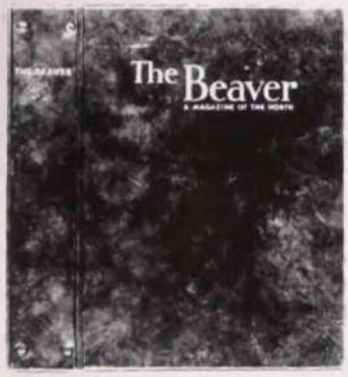

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TOMMY DOUGLAS
The Road to Jerusalem

By Thomas H. McLeod and Ian McLeod. The Book Bazaar, Ottawa, 1988. 341 pp., illus. $24.95.

By Duff Roblin

The Road to Jerusalem is an excellent political biography of the Honourable T.C. Douglas, P.C. It brings to life a seminal period in the history of Saskatchewan that left its mark on the development of Canadian society.

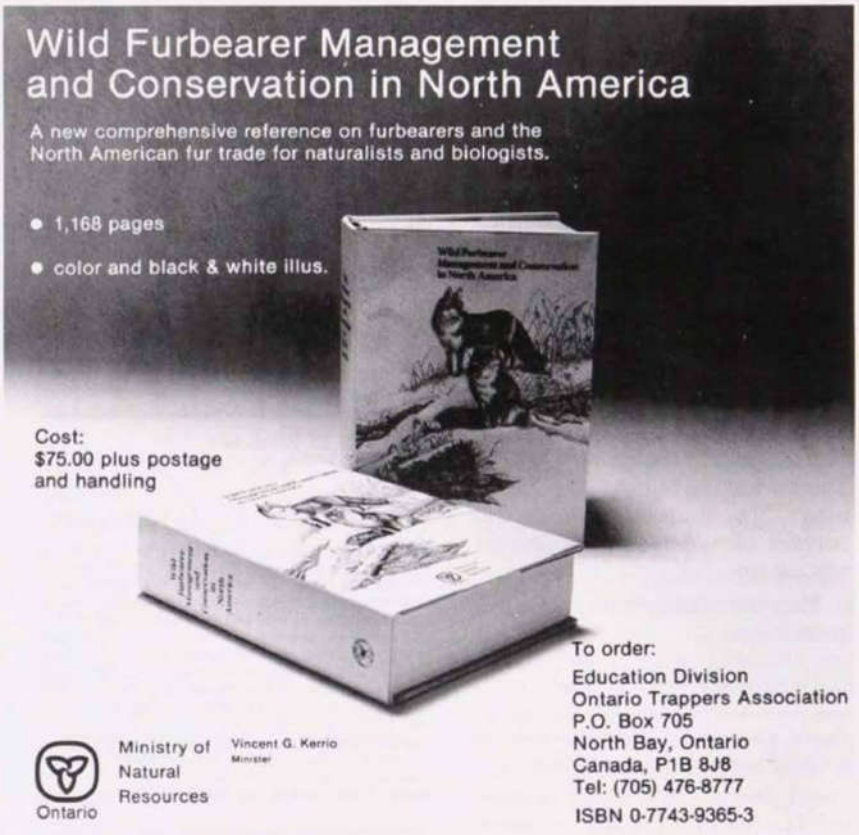
The book gives a fair and balanced account of Tommy Douglas' career and adds valuable insights into the record of the CCF and NDP parties during his time. In fact, the degree of detail on internal party politics and on the role of various players — mostly now forgotten — interesting as they are to political junkies or party activists — somewhat overshadows its perception of one of the most charismatic politicians of his generation.

Charismatic indeed is how he appeared to me when I first met Tommy Douglas at a Dominion-Provincial Conference in the late 1950s. The simple eloquence with which he presented his case, the lack of overt partisanship in his interventions and especially the feeling of sincerity that he communicated so well, attracted the respect, if not indeed, the affection of his peers around the table. When he left the conference room and another Saskatchewan minister took his place, it was as if someone had turned off the current, Saskatchewan glowed no more.

The book is particularly interesting when it sketches the origin and development and the inevitable muting of Douglas' political philosophy. The early days of drought and depression in agricultural Saskatchewan brought forward Douglas' wide view of compassionate idealism. Not alone, he grasped at current populist fashions as he tried to relate them to that rationalistic Christianity which was the bedrock of his own conviction. Social engineering was the thing. Government experts could solve all problems. Replace control by the capitalistic system with control by the elected members of public institutions. Elminate the profit system and abundance would come forth. Even Social Credit deserved favourable notice. But what else would you expect a warm and compassionate and very young clergyman to say in these hardest of all hard times?

The ironic counterpoint is that advancing experience in positions of authority necessarily dulls the cutting edge of these first fine careless raptures. This is no reproach but a simple observation on the human condition. We see it writ large today as the modern NDP tries to position itself for a leading national political role. Centre-left may be more comfortable than left-left, but for those of a radical bent it cannot seem more blessed. The salt has lost its savour.

Tommy Douglas struggled with this dilemma especially when he left



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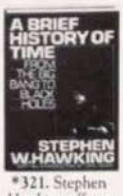

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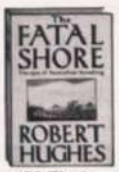

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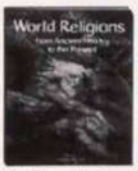

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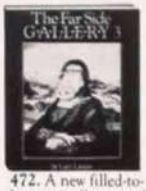

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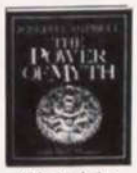

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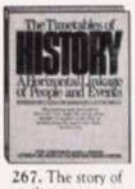

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the provincial premiership and became the national leader of the NDP. But it was in Saskatchewan that his best work, his real work was done. Some of it had a widespread and lasting impact on Canadian society. Health and medical care was the centre piece. Here the CCF, provincially inspired, directed and led by Douglas, made its great contribution. Other more doctrinaire policies involving co-operative farming and nationalized industries have sunk from view — little regretted Douglas learned and, in fact, postulated that there were limits to nationalization and that private ownership had an essential role to play. As Saskatchewan grew more prosperous under his administration, he came to understand there were limits to the public's appetite for change. But it was in Saskatchewan that his great work was done and political success achieved.

Douglas' analysis of Prairie problems was telling. Even when the specific solutions he devised were not seen in the same light elsewhere, they could not be ignored. Where other provincial governments might fail to emulate his policies, the challenge to propose acceptable alternatives was unmistakable.

Though it appears Douglas never said so, his transfer to the national scene can hardly have been a happy one. In essence, one man might be able to manage a province, Douglas certainly did. Ottawa was different. The times were not favourable to small left-wing third parties. The ranks were turbulent as ranks in opposition usually are. The price of the longed-for national party profile involved concessions to regionalism and expediency. These must have proved hard to accept by one who clung to the concept of the biblical "saving remnant", the spiritual Prairie pioneers on the "Road to Jerusalem".

There is a double irony when the Prairie populist linked up with the trade unions, that part of the political spectrum most reluctant to change, as present day politics amply illustrate. His experience with public sector trade unions in Saskatchewan should have given him a foretaste of the problems to come. Perhaps they did.

As federal leader, Tommy Douglas struggled manfully with might and main. He bore his defeats with remarkable courage and resilient grace. But gradually the followers slipped away. The golden calf proved irresistible and the NDP moved on to other leaders, dreaming of mainstream politics. And so far it remains to be seen if these politics will work. But when he went, Tommy Douglas left a fair name and a great record. Canadians of every political persuasion can rejoice in his life. It will stand as a testament to principled politics. So this is a good book — good Canadian history. That its hero is human is frankly recorded. The turbulence of party politics, even in the NDP — *mirabile dictu* — is set out for all to see.

But in the end, the good that this man did does live after him. I am glad his story is so well told. He is indeed a Canadian hero.

Senator Duff Roblin is a former Premier of Manitoba.

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THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

Fighting the Flu

I found the October/November 1988 issue of *The Beaver* a very interesting read. The article about the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 "No Armistice With Death" was a comprehensive account of a puzzling plague and its effects on communities trying to cope as best they could.

The fears and popular myths this illness generated have many parallels to our modern day plague of AIDS.

I especially enjoyed the reproductions of the "Fight the Flu!" campaign bulletin shown on page 45 and the CCM bicycle advertisement shown on page 46.

I am a physician in Edmonton and was wondering whether there would be any way to get copies of these historical items suitable for framing and hanging.

Dr. Ross Lindskoog,
Edmonton, Alberta.

The editor of "The Beaver" welcomes contributions to The Packet. Comments on articles, observations on historic events and fresh information from unpublished sources are particularly encouraged. Letters may be edited for length.

The Franklin Mystery

I was fascinated to read your two articles on the fate of the Franklin Expedition [*The Beaver*, October/November 1988]. In particular the discussion on lead poisoning has piqued my interest. While serving in the Canadian forces as an engineer officer, I was project officer on the expansion of Alert Wireless Station, Ellesmere Island 1959-62. During one of my many flights I was delayed in Resolute for several days. In the Mess Hall there was a display case of artifacts, purported to have been found on Beechey Island; among these were several cans of beef, still intact but with stains showing at the soldered joints. These early "cans" appeared to be terne-plate not tin-plate. I would like to suggest to Owen Beattie and John Geiger that the lead used in coating the terne-plate and the solder used to seal the cans may be the source of the poisoning upon which their article does not elaborate. This may spark further research, since this method of packaging rations was official, (bearing the British-broad-arrow), and likely was in general use wherever British forces were engaged in exploration or settlement.

Likewise the tinned wrought iron plaque on John Torrington's casket, was likely one of those "cans". The soft metal over the iron provides an easy medium for the beautiful and durable lettering on this memorial.

Captain D. L. Small, CD Ret.,
Ottawa, Ontario.

★

The articles on the Franklin expedition [*The Beaver*, October/November 1988] are keenly interesting and will no doubt be the subjects of much controversy and comment.

A puzzling aspect is the disparate amount of lead found in the bodies of the unfortunate Torrington, Hartnell and Braine. If the lead came from the soldering on the tins of prepared food, then one would expect the lead levels to be more equal in the three men as they ate the same food, prepared in the same galleys and served in the same mess. Perhaps the contractor, Stephen Goldner, is being unjustly reproached for his part in the drama.

May I suggest one other possibility for the lead poisoning found in these men. I understand that lead salts were used medically in days not so long ago to treat some maladies. For instance, due to an astringent action on mucous membranes, lead salts were used to treat diarrhea.

A search of the inventory of drugs and medicines issued to the physicians on board the two ships might indicate the presence of the offending substances. If an inventory does not exist, a comment by a pharmacologist on the above mentioned possibility would be in order.

Gordon C. Higginson,
Regina, Saskatchewan.

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Read these and other fascinating articles and reviews in the April/May 1989 issue of ***The Beaver.***

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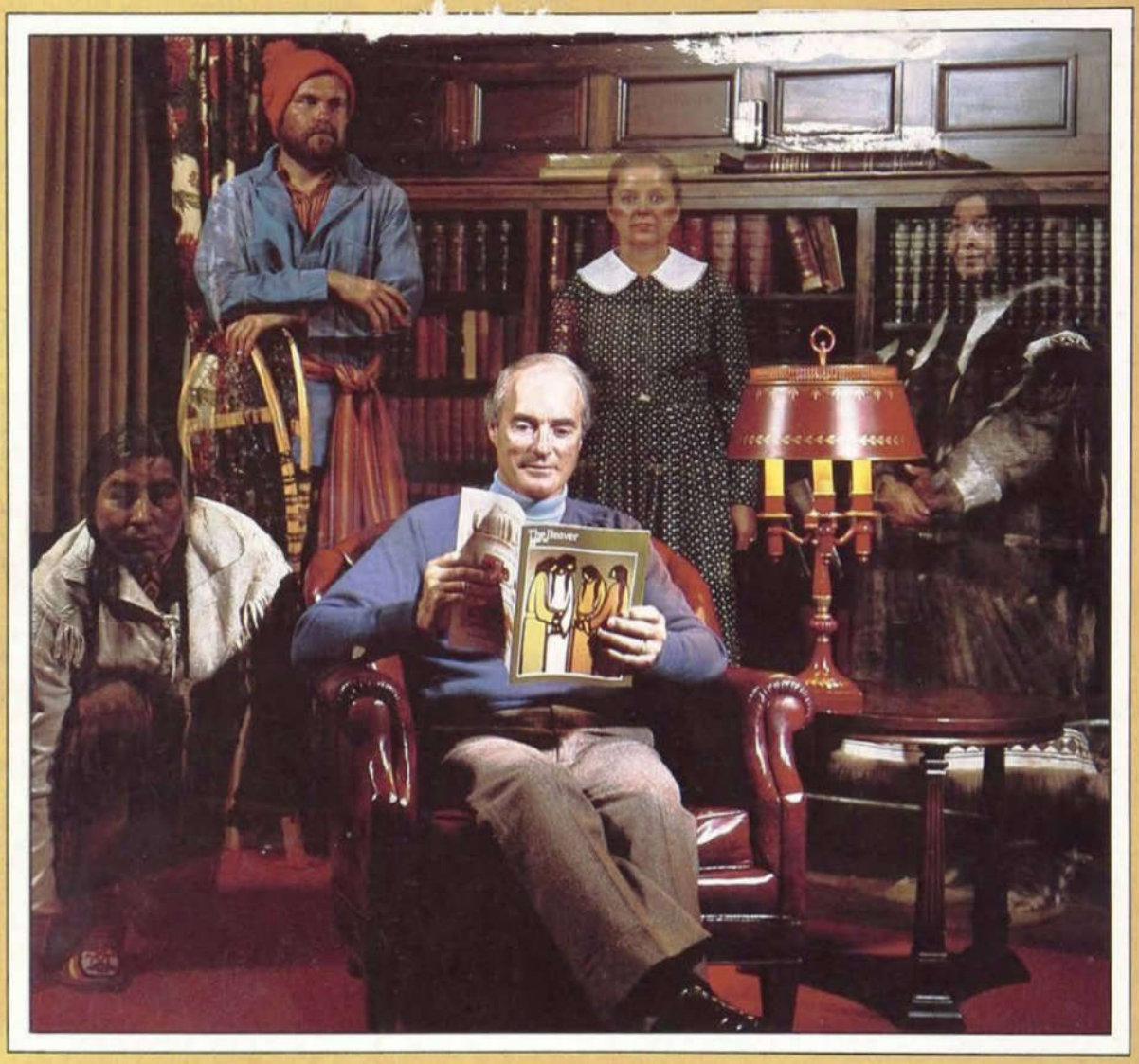

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